FBIS DAILY REPORT

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WARSAW PACT MANEUVERS BEGIN IN SOUTHERN GDR

LD261224 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1143 GMT 26 Mar 84

[Text] Berlin, 26 Mar (ADN) -- In accordance with the plan of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries, the "South-84" joint troop exercises began today in southern GDR. They will end on 31 March. Taking part are staffs, troop formations, and units of the GDR National People's Army [NVA], the Polish Army, and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

The exercise is taking place under the leadership of General Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the NVA Ground Forces.

Motorized infantry units, troopers, artillerymen, and members of other branches and services took up their positions at the starting point the same day. Preparations for the operations began in the training area. The Army members consolidated their defensive positions. In the staff and command centers the commanders and staff officers worked on planning fighting operations to combat "enemy" aggression.

There were numerous meetings between comrades-in-arms at the starting point and positions. At these encounters as well as at combat discussions among the party and youth organizations, the soldiers of the three fraternal armies underlined their determination to master the forthcoming combat tasks in an exemplary manner, shoulder to shoulder. They want to make a contribution to the preservation of peace and the socialist achievements of the fraternal peoples through first-rate performance in the "South-84" exercises.

At a meeting at an operations section, political officers of the NVA, the Polish Army, and the Soviet Army discussed the organization of political work under real conditions with Lieutenant General Horst Brunner and Lieutenant General Werner Rothe. In this, it was stated that the joint exercise will lend new impulse to communist education, military training, and especially to socialist competition in the struggle for high combat effectiveness and combat readiness. In this connection, NVA officers informed their comrades-in-arms about the numerous initiatives and achievements of the Army staff and their troop units.

LAZAR OPENS CEMA PLANNING COOPERATION SESSION

LD270901 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 27 Mar 84

[Text] Premier Gyorgy Lazar has opened the Budapest session of the CEMA Planning Cooperation Committee. The head of government spoke highly of the important role of plan coordination, which is being realized within the framework of the organization, in laying the foundation for the economic development of the member-states. Delegates at the consultation will debate planning work for the period 1986-90. Countries are represented at the session by chairmen of central planning organs.

ZHIVKOV ADDRESSES BCP NATIONAL CONFERENCE 23 MAR

AU260925 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Mar 84 pp 1-3

[Opening speech given by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, to the BCP National Conference at Sofia's Lyudmila Zhivkov Palace of Culture on 22 March; uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates, dear guests:

In the decades following the socialist revolution, our people, under BCP leadership, have achieved tremendous successes in building the material-technical base of socialism, establishing and perfecting socialist social relations, developing intellectual and cultural life, educating a new socialist individual, and raising living standards -- to put it briefly, in all sectors.

Throughout this entire period, and in particular since the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee, party policy has been focused on the working man -- on his needs and interests, on his aspirations and desires.

It is precisely this policy, embodied in the general April plenum party line, that has ensured dynamic economic development in all spheres of our society; it has led to the consolidation of the people's moral-political unity and permitted us constantly to improve and raise our material and cultural living standard.

We Communists are justifiably proud of our motherland's successes. These successes make all our people proud of themselves. However, we are far from complacency; we are not carried away by our successes. In soberly evaluating our achievements, we are by no means disregarding weaknesses and shortcomings or new problems arising in connection with the further successful construction of developed socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In the present stage of development the problem of quality is the CRUCIAL PROBLEM which is facing us with all urgency and topicality.

This problem has always been facing our party, of course. We have resolved it in accordance with our possibilities. However, in the past we placed emphasis on quantitative indexes, because this conformed to the objective conditions under which our country was developing.

The situation is quite different today. We are now facing a specific task, namely that of THE TOTAL SOLUTION OF THE QUALITY PROBLEM AS AN OBJECTIVE DEMAND, AS A TECHNOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE. THIS IS A TASK REQUIRING AN ENTIRELY NEW APPROACH WITH NEW POINTS OF VIEW AND NEW CRITERIA.

Why is this so?

-- Because the solution of this task determines to the greatest extent the successful implementation of the comprehensive intensification trend adopted by the 12th BCP Congress.

-- Because the accomplishment of this task determines the intensification and expansion of our participation in the international division of labor and in socialist economic integration.

-- Because the implementation of this task is linked to the consolidation of the country's defense capacity under the current difficult international situation.

-- Because the general solution of the quality problem in the long run determines the constant improvement of the individual citizen's and of the entire population's living standards.

These are all reasons why we consider the quality problem is a crucial problem of the present and future, as a crucial problem in building mature socialism in our country.

High quality must be achieved not only in one, but in all branches, as well as in the reproduction process and in society as a whole. Our slogan today and in the future is and will be: "HIGH QUALITY IN ALL PLACES AND IN ALL THINGS!" Guided by this slogan we will naturally give PRIORITY TO PRODUCTION AS A DECISIVE SPHERE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY WITHOUT GIVING SHORT SHRIFT TO THE OTHER SPHERES OF SOCIETY.

We know from our own experiences, comrades, that the quality problem is a complicated and difficult one, that it is a comprehensive problem. This is why we can resolve it only with the help of the joint efforts of the workers class, the peasants, and specialists, the Bulgarian scientists, and the entire people.

This is the basic reason why the Central Committee has submitted this problem to a nationwide and thorough discussion at the current BCP National Conference.

We stressed the following in our report to the Varna national conference held in May 1983: The main factor in preparing for the national party conference will be not only the formulation of theoretical tenets and practical programs to be considered by it, but the achievement of tangible changes in our production activities.

What has been achieved so far in this respect?

Following the Verna conference we worked out programs for improving quality in various branches and national economic sectors and in individual okrugs and enterprises. The first hoepful results have been achieved in improving quality in industrial production. The share of goods with a high quality mark corresponding to the requirements of the world market increased during the second half of 1983, as compared with the first half, by approximately 2 points. Such positive changes have been achieved in the machine building and chemical industry sectors, in the production of construction materials, and in other branches as well.

I think, however, and you will certainly agree with me on this point, that we can by no means be satisfied with these achievements. It is a fact that a number of economic organizations and enterprises continue to disregard the standards and requirements of high quality and continue to produce poor quality goods. There are even frequent cases in which certain parts of goods produced in the process of production sharing and destined for use in the production of ready-made goods are of poor quality in their majority and have to be replaced. Additional expenditures are thus necessary for the elimination of the existing shortcomings. Such facts fill us with concern.

Comrades, the BCP National Conference was preceeded by accountability-election conferences of the basic party orgaizations and by the accountability-election conferences of municipal and okrug BCP organizations. The evaluation of the Cental Committee reads as follows on this subject: These conferences have proceeded on a high ideological-political level in the spirit of a business-like, creative, and critical discussion of the work concerning the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress and in connection with fulfilling the task of improving quality in all spheres of social life. This inspires us with confidence that the Communists and all our people will even more energetically cope with the solution of this problem.

From this rostrum I would like to express gratitude to all working people, to the scientists and specialists, to the representatives of the mass media, and to all those who participated in the nationwide discussion of the quality problem and who have contributed to the first positive results in this respect.

On Quality and on Certain Objective Laws of Building Developed Socialism in Our Country

Comrades, you are acquainted with the materials and documents of the national conference held in Varna and with the draft project on the long-term program of improving quality. This permits me to omit a report and to deliver an introductory address instead in which I will merely submit a few basic questions and aspects of our work in connection with raising the level of quality.

What is the new and main factor in the party's approach to this question? THE NEW AND MAIN FACTOR IS THE FOLLOWING: HIGH QUALITY IN ALL THINGS AND IN ALL PLACES CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY WHEN THE PROBLEMS OF QUALITY ARE SUBMITTED AND RESOLVED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE OBJECTIVE LAWS AND RULES APPLYING TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM.

How can I describe the most important of the objective laws which I have in mind?

IN THE FIRST PLACE I am talking about SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION as an objective law. We can achieve high quality only under one condition today: namely, through the active participation of scientific-technological revolution and through mastering the greatest achievements of scientific-technological research.

What are the results of all this?

IN THE FIRST PLACE that in order to increase quality we must MODERNIZE THE EXISTING TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT, TECHNOLOGY AND PRODUCTION, ABOVE ALL ON THE BASIS OF BASICALLY NEW SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL ACHIEVEMENTS. In this connection we need a NEW APPROACH IN CAPITAL INVESTMENT POLICY: a total of 70-75 percent of the capital investments must be focused on the modernization of existing plants through the INTRODUCTION OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY. Reconstruction and modernization must proceed in this spirit.

IN THE SECOND PLACE modernization must ensure A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND PERFECTION OF THE PRODUCTION STRUCTURE by paying particular attention to those branches and production types which are the main exponents of scientific progress.

We have stressed on several occasions that our economy is an open one. Hence, OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR AND IN SOCIALIST INTEGRATION IN PARTICULAR, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS INTEGRATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION, MUST BE ONE OF THE MAIN STRATEGIC TRENDS OF OUR ECONOMIC POLICY.

This implies that in perfecting the structure of production we must be guided by the three following obligations:

-- TO PURSUE THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRANCHES in which our country has specialized within the framework of the socialist community by ensuring a high quality of production.

-- We have the obligation, in conformity with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, to DEVELOP NEW PRIORITY PRODUCTIONS which will permit us to win new positions in the socialist and international markets on the basis of a high technological level and high production quality.

-- We are further obliged to accomplish a transition to the construction of SMALL- AND MEDIUM-SIZED ENTERPRISES with relatively low capital investments, but on a high technological level. With their construction we will improve the quality of an extensive range of materials, assembly blocks, and elements used for servicing the large production units and for the production of certain high quality consumer goods for the population. Under the conditions existing in our country, this will represent a considerable reserve of which we must take optimum advantage. Such enterprises will help us solve a number of social problems arising from our conurbation system as well.

THREE, the success of the struggle for high quality is unthinkable without THE CREATIVE WORK OF THE BULGARIAN SCIENTISTS, OF OUR SCIENTIFIC COLLECTIVES IN THE RESEARCH OF NEW SOLUTIONS WHICH ARE DIRECTLY APPLICABLE TO QUALITY IMPROVEMENT. There is still much to be desired in this respect.

We must concentrate our main efforts on technologies which are the leading sphere of our scientific-technical progress. We must intensify the cooperation of our scientific-research institutions with the respective institutions in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist community-member countries, as well as scientific-research cooperation with other highly developed states. WE MUST ENHANCE THE ROLE OF BULGARIAN SCIENCE IN THE UTILIZATION OF FOREIGN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND PRODUCTION EXPERIENCE. It is high time to create a modern scientific-organizational and scientific-information base which will enable us to search for an apply the most recent and most promising scientific and technical achievements in a timely manner. It is necessary to remove all bureaucratic barriers impeding the initiative and morale of the scientists, of scientific institutions, and of higher educational institutions, as well as to reform the social status of the Bulgarian scientists. TO ESTABLISH AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUCH GREATER RESPECT FOR AND RECOGNITION OF SCIENTISTS, AS WELL AS NEW CRITERIA FOR THE MORAL AND MATERIAL EVALUATION OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES AND OF THE BULGARIAN SCIENTISTS' ACHIEVEMENTS -- THIS IS MORE NECESSARY THAN EVER.

All who are engaged in shaping the scientific-technological policy of the country and who are participating in the leadership and management of the work and struggle for raising quality standards must take into consideration the opinions of Bulgarian scientists and specialists. SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND QUALITY, QUALITY AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS -- THESE MUST BE OUR GUIDELINES!

AS THE SECOND OBJECTIVE LAW, I AM TALKING ABOUT THE PERFECTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIAL RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS THOSE BETWEEN THE OWNER AND MANAGER OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY, AS AN OBJECTIVE LAW. THIS IS THE PRACTICAL METHOD OF ESTABLISHING THE MOST DIRECT ECONOMIC LINKS BETWEEN MAN AND THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, BETWEEN MAN AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, BETWEEN MAN AND THE QUALITY OF THE GOODS PRODUCED BY HIM.

The relations between the state as owner of socialist property and the collective as its manager are of fundamental importance for the perfection of the management of national economy. These relations are the meaning and essence of the new economic approach and its mechanism.

What can we deduce from this fact?

-- One result is that EVERY WORKERS COLLECTIVE AND EVERY WORKING INDIVIDUAL MUST BE DIRECTLY, MATERIALLY, AND MORALLY INTERESTED in the prompt application of contemporary technologies and technological methods and in their most efficient utilization, as well as in the production of high quality goods.

-- Another result is the NECESSITY OF WIDELY APPLYING THE BRIGADE LABOR ORGANIZATION BASED ON COST ACCOUNTING. This is a basic organizational form for the implementation of direct economic links between the producer and the quality of his goods. Through a new kind of brigade work the working people are really granted the right of management of production means and have a genuine opportunity to feel responsible for production and for its quality. There is no reason whatsoever to further delay the establishment of brigades organized on the basis of the economic principle.

-- Another result is the NECESSITY OF ACHIEVING A MOST EFFICIENT MUTUAL INTERACTION BETWEEN STATE PLANNING AND COUNTERPLANS. We must be aware of one thing in this respect: State planning is bearing the main responsibility for ensuring the prerequisites of high quality production. State planning is precisely determining the focus of the workers' main efforts. At the same time, however, we must also be aware of the following: The state task is the minimum task which the state is assigning to the workers collectives. With their counterplans the workers collectives are ensuring higher production quality, higher labor productivity, and a more thrifty use of raw materials and energy as well. The counterplans must ensure total coordination of enterprises and organizations as well as resolve all questions of self-sufficiency and self-financing.

-- One other result of the aforementioned fact is the necessity for the workers collectives to assume their rights of true managers and therefore their relations with the state as owner of the means of production must be built on AN ECONOMIC BASIS and priority should be given to the application of the PIECEWORK WAGE SYSTEM PRINCIPLE. Thus, the workers collectives will be freed from petty operational supervision and will be able to expand their own initiative in the struggle for high quality. AS THE THIRD OBJECTIVE LAW, I have in mind the OBJECTIVE ACTION OF THE LAW OF VALUE AND OF THE COMMODITY-MONETARY RELATIONS CONNECTED WITH IT. What follows from this?

ONE, it follows from this that the quality cannot be improved through subjectivism and arbitrariness. Only in consistently applying the new economic approach and its mechanism will we be able to accomplish a drastic change for the better. Thus we will best conform with the requirements of the law for value and for commodity-financial relations.

TWO, the main and determining factor in this case is the necessity of ENSURING THE ECONOMIC LINK AND THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN PRODUCTION AND THE MARKET. Thus, conditions will be created for the production of more goods in our country, capable of competing on the foreign markets and sought after on our own domestic market. We are particularly in need of a DIRECT ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE CONSUMER AND THE PRODUCER IN WHICH THE CONSUMER SUBMITS HIS DEMAND FOR HIGH QUALITY. Criteria for a high quality of goods must be the same regardless of whether they are destined for the domestic or foreign market.

THREE, an important lever for solving the quality problem is THE EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC COMPETITION AMONG PRODUCERS.

FOUR, it is necessary to enhance the role of price forming in the struggle for high quality. There is no point in making a secret of it -- numerous arbitrary actions and very despicable actions are committed in this case.

We must consistently be guided by the following rule in relations between quality and prices: The price must be determined by the actual quality of consumer goods and by the expenditures necessary for their production. Higher prices must be paid for better goods, while the price per unit to consumers for quality must be reduced. It is an economic and social necessity to reduce the price of low quality goods drastically and at the expense of the producers, as well as to sell at lower prices outdated goods and goods that are in lesser demand.

We must devote particular attention to international prices at which our country is exporting its goods. The Ministry of Foreign Trade must bear the main responsibility for this. There is no place for interference from the outside for unprofessionalism in this respect.

FIVE, a decisive change for the better must take place in THE CONNECTION BETWEEN QUALITY AND WORKERS WAGES. Quality must be given priority in the system of material incentives. This means that labor quality and production quality must remain the chief criteria for differentiation in labor remuneration.

SIX, let us enhance the role of the state budget, of the financial-credit activities, in connection with improving quality. A well-coordinated system of premiums, additional payments, and reduction of prices, of customs duties and taxation would help stimulate the accelerated application of new technologies and production, the prompt technical and technological innovation of existing production capacities. These economic levers must be used also in restricting and even in stopping the production and import of poor quality production.

AS THE FOURTH OBJECTIVE LAW, I am talking about the INCREASED ROLE OF WORKERS PEOPLE'S MASSES AS CREATORS OF HISTORY AND THE EXPANSION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. This objective law of general importance is appearing with even greater strength in building developed socialism. It is high time that this law should now manifest itself in solving quality problems.

What is required in this respect?

Comrades, this demands that we RELY ON ALL STRATA OF OUR SOCIETY, SO THAT WORK SHOULD BE BETTER AND OF HIGHER QUALITY IN ALL PLACES AND IN ALL SECTORS.

This demands a full mobilization of the efforts and knowledge of the workers class, of the workers in agricultural areas, of the intelligentsia, of the entire people. We must actively involve the workers masses in the struggle for high quality. The efforts and creative ideas of every socialist worker must now be fully utilized. Our society needs the opinions and proposals of each working man and each workers collective. They must pertain to the method of work to the methods of improving and achieving high quality.

Naturally, THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORKERS CLASS, and among them THE PROBLEM OF THE GENERAL QUALIFICATIONS OF WORKERS are the most important ones in this respect. At the same time, however, we must form an ELITE NUCLEUS in every workers' collective consisting of highly qualified and creative workers. This nucleus must must help everyone -- in applying scientific-technological achievements as well as in improving quality and thus to lead forward the entire workers collective.

We need a NEW APPROACH TO THE PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION OF YOUTHS. The aim must be to increase and expand groups of young industrial and agricultural workers so that they achieve the highest qualifications before reaching the age of 30.

The most difficult question is the question of CADRES. This is a crucial question. We need cadres, and more cadres -- scientists and experts with high qualifications, as well as highly qualified leaders, and so forth. Their importance is decisive in mastering the new technological methods and the production of high quality goods.

IT IS HIGH TIME THAT WE APPRECIATE THE IRREPLACEABLE ROLE OF SPECIALISTS IN PRODUCTION as well as on our entire labor front. Let us remember Lenin's exceptional care for specialists. It is particularly important to ensure permanent contact between them and the achievements of worldwide science, technology, and practice, a constant improvement of their qualifications in higher educational institutions, and so forth.

THE EXISTING PRACTICE OF TRAINING GRADUATE SPECIALISTS MUST UNDERGO CONSIDERABLE CHANGES. Higher educational institutions must train the graduate students so as to include broad opportunities for their joining production and social administration, so that they not simply work but that their work should be up to the level of modern science and technology.

LEADING CADRES in all sectors of social life must always be up to the level of new tasks, they must play a leading role in the nationwide struggle for high quality.

Is this the case in all places, however?

Unfortunately, this is not so. There are numerous leading cadres who live and work with outdated ideas, who are incapable of reorganizing or unwilling to reorganize their thoughts, their approach in accordance with the new requirements of life. We must not resign ourselves to the existence of leading bodies that are bureaucratic, that have become obstructions and obstacles impeding any new initiative. In this respect precisely and for this purpose we must consistently apply the PRINCIPLES OF COMPETITION AND ELECTION. This will enable us to decisively improve our work in connection with developing capable, competent, and ideologically, politically tested leading cadres and specialists, enjoying the confidence of the workers collective.

For Effective Mechanisms To Solve the Problem of High Quality

Comrades, the use of objective laws and successful work in improving quality demand that the necessary mechanism be applied.

Without having exhausted the question, I would like to point out that the main and essential thing today is TO APPLY COMPREHENSIVELY AND TOTALLY THE REGULATIONS FOR ECONOMIC MECHANISM that were adopted by the decisions of the BCP Central Committee January plenum. We can no longer tolerate any delay or compromise in this respect.

WE MUST ESSENTIALLY IMPROVE THE ACTING MECHANISMS IN THE SCIENTIFIC SECTOR, AS WELL AS IN ENGINEERING-APPLICATION WORK, AS WELL AS IN MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS AND PRODUCTION ENTERPRISES. The main thing in this respect must be the following: intensification of economic, material, and moral incentives, in the case of scientific collectives as well as in the case of the producers and other consumers of scientific research results in achieving a high scientific-technical level and high quality. In determining research subjects and tasks and in ensuring their implementation, the programmatic goal-oriented approach should be consistently applied.

SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE MECHANISM OF PLANNING IS TO BE PERFECTED. Quality must permeate all elements of the national plan. Quantitative growth in the national plan must be based on high quality. THE PLAN MUST BE CONSIDERED AS IMPLEMENTED NOT ONLY WHEN THE SCOPE OF THE PLANNED PRODUCTION IS ACHIEVED, BUT FIRST OF ALL IF THIS PRODUCTION IS ON THE LEVEL OF THE PLANNED QUALITY. This is the most important and essential factor.

IT IS NECESSARY TO IMMEDIATELY PERFECT THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND MANAGEMENT MECHANISM according to the decisions of the BCP Central Committee January plenum. In this context the government and its organs must complete the structural reorganization and the definition of the functions and competencies of the appropriate units. Thus we charge management with the responsibility to improve quality, because it is on the management that the high quality work of the economic organizations, enterprises, and workers' collectives depend.

WE MUST NOW CONVINCE OURSELVES HOW VITALLY IMPORTANT IT IS TO INCREASE EVERYWHERE THE LEVEL OF THE PLANNING, TECHNOLOGICAL, CONTRACTUAL, WORKING, FINANCIAL, AND FOREIGN CURRENCY DISCIPLINE. We must use the entire range of economic stimuli and sanctions included in the improved Regulations of Economic Mechanism and in the existing Labor Code in order to strengthen discipline.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to and underestimate the ignoring of the LEGAL MECHANISMS in the struggle for improved quality. From the positions of the law we must demand a strict implementation of the contracted obligations and secure the quick review of and decisions on arbitrated cases. The legal organs can have only one position on the issues of quality -- to be uncompromising while reviewing disputed issues between the organizations and enterprises, and between the economic leaderships and individual workers.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION QUALITY DESERVES SERIOUS CRITICISM AND NEEDS A MAJOR REVAMPING. In order to turn control into a powerful and effective mechanism of improving quality it is necessary to generally introduce control of input, equipment, and output by using modern technical means; to develop and most broadly apply self-control over the quality of our own production; the state control of the quality of export goods must be exceptionally strict to prevent the export of low-quality goods to foreign markets. We must broadly use automatic control over quality in order to avoid subjective evaluations.

IT IS PURPOSEFUL TO APPLY IN MANAGEMENT THE ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE IN UTILIZING THE PUBLIC-STATE AND STATE-PUBLIC PRINCIPLE. It is correct to quickly begin to create the appropriate COUNCILS FOR MANAGING QUALITY as state-public organs with the main task of defending the consumers' interest. Not only the producers but also the consumers -- enterprises, trade organizations, public organizations, and the population -- must participate in these councils.

These and other mechanisms must encompass the entire LIFE CYCLE OF PRODUCTION -- from its technical-economic tasks to its use by consumers; they must also encompass ALL LEVELS -- from the individual worker and brigade to the supreme executive organs of state power.

The BCP Central Committee January plenum decided to continue the work to perfect the economic mechanism, so that it can be totally applied starting the beginning of the next 5-year plan period. THUS WE SHALL COMPLETE THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND APPLICATION OF THIS REFORM [REFORM] WHICH IS SUBSTANTIAL FOR OUR CONDITIONS AND, WHICH WE INITIATED SEVERAL YEARS AGO. The most essential part of this reform is that it takes better into consideration the objective laws of our social development, and precisely therefore it has PRINCIPLED AND DECISIVE IMPORTANCE for increasing the quality of our work in all areas of life.

The Party's Long-Range Program on Improving Quality

Comrades, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE PARTY'S LONG-RANGE PROGRAM ON IMPROVING QUALITY. This is a document of exceptional significance, which the Central Committee is introducing for discussion and adoption at the present party conference. What is characteristic of the long-range program?

-- It outlines the basic economic, technical, technological, political, and ideological tenets of UNIVERSALLY SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF QUALITY.

-- It is COMPLEX because it encompasses the entire production process, all its facets and factors.

-- It is LONG-TERM because it outlines the milestones of improving quality until the end of the Eighth and Ninth 5-Year Plan period, and in some areas until 2000.

-- It is OPEN, because it will constantly enrich itself in accordance with the new achievements of scientific-technical and social progress, it will supplement itself with new means and forms, which will appear in the work of the working people.

-- It is ADDRESSED TO EVERY MEMBER OF OUR SOCIETY, TO THE ENTIRE PEOPLE. The human factor will be decisive for its implementation.

In a few words, THE PROGRAM MUST BE ACCEPTED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR GENERAL STRATEGY FOR CONSTRUCTING MATURE SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY. Its implementation will accelerate our socioeconomic development and will facilitate the further growth of Bulgaria's prestige in the world as a reliable and preferred partner in foreign economic, scientific-technological, and cultural relations.

Consequently, it is necessary immediately after the end of this conference to comprehensively begin insistent and steady practical work for its implementation in life.

On the Party Ideological Work in the Struggle for High Quality

Comrade delegates, the comprehensive and general character of the issue of quality requires uniting the efforts of the entire people and of all units of the system of public activities and social management. The BCP is such a uniting, mobilizing, and guiding power in our system.

Precisely it, the BCP, is called upon to implement the connection between the requirements of the objective socioeconomic laws and the activity of the workers' masses.

THEREFORE THE UNITY OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL APPROACH MUST BECOME THE FIRST AND MAIN CARE OF THE PARTY AND ALL ITS ORGANS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR HIGH QUALITY. As I already said, we can increase the masses' activity if we rely on economic mechanisms that increase the material interest and responsibility of the people. HOWEVER, WE BY NO MEANS UNDERESTIMATE AND MUST NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE CREATION OF THE NECESSARY POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONDITION OF GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE INITIATIVES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND THE LEADERS, AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OVER ALL ACTIVITIES.

What we need now is to DIFFERENTIATE THE FUNCTIONS AND INCREASE THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE of the party organs and organizations in the center and everywhere.

The party influence, assistance, and control must aim first of all at the APPROACHES, METHODS, AND STYLE OF THE WORK of party and economic organs and leading cadres. Mastering the levers and observing the requirements of the economic approach and its mechanism is a question not only of their economic but also of their POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Every economic and state figure must RESPECT THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS' COLLECTIVES AND MAKE PLACE FOR THEIR INITIATIVE AND ACTIVITY. This is also a question of political responsibility. Everyone must understand: THE MAIN CONCLUSION, THE CONCLUSIONS FROM THE CONDUCT OF OUR MAYOR REFORM AND OF THE POSTULATE ON THE STATE-OWNER AND THE COLLECTIVE-MANAGER OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY IS TO DECISIVELY INCREASE THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS' COLLECTIVE IN ALL AREAS OF OUR LIFE. This new vision of ours of the workers' collective has a cardinal importance in the struggle for high quality and expanding socialist democracy, and in the work for accelerating our socioeconomic development.

In the struggle for high quality it is necessary TO INCREASE THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY of every Communist, worker, and leader. Precisely the party organs and organization must ensure the necessary moral-psychological atmosphere of objectivity, strictness, and criticism while evaluating the quality of all work.

Party organs and organizations must much more categorically express themselves in favor of and defend the social, collective, and individual interests of the workers in their entirety; they must unmask all cases.

Along with this, they must intensify the struggle against manifestations of misunderstood liberalism, under which violations of planning, technological, financial, and labor discipline are being lightheartedly glossed over and are not being severely sanctioned.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK IS CALLED UPON TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE NEW APPROACH TO THE QUALITY PROBLEM, TO CONTEMPORARY CRITERIA OF HIGH QUALITY. A CULT OF HIGH QUALITY must be implanted in social consciousness.

EVERY BULGARIAN CITIZEN MUST LIVE WITH THE AWARENESS THAT THE MARK OF QUALITY ON GOODS PRODUCED IN OUR COUNTRY IS PROOF OF HIS OWN PROFESSIONAL, CIVIL, AND PERSONAL DIGNITY, A CALLING CARD REPRESENTING SOCIALIST BULGARIA.

On the Present-Day International Situation

Comrades, the present conference is discussing the questions most directly linked to the place of Bulgaria in the socialist community and in the whole world. These questions are linked to the economic sector, the international division of labor, and socialist integration. These questions are also linked to the political sector, to the wide range of international relations that, in the long run, also concern the question of peaceful coexistence and the cooperation among countries with different social systems, as well as the crucial problem of peace and war.

What can we say concretely about the international situation today? Our evaluation of the international situation is well known. It is also a well known fact that we approve and support numerous peace-loving initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union, as well as the joint initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Our common stand against war is well known, as is our stand in support of peace and detente and in favor of an honest dialogue based on equal rights, as well as our stand in favor of cooperation. This is the stand set forth once again by Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU, in his preelection speech delivered in Moscow.

The intentions and goals of militant imperialism toward us are also well-known. What is new in recent years is the fact that we are now facing an increasing transformation of these goals and trends into state policy by the United States with the support of its NATO allies. The policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles is being implemented in the following directions today: rearmament aimed at decisively disrupting the balance of forces to the detriment of socialism, discrimination measures in the field of trade in commodities and technology, manipulation of public opinion in the capitalist countries in a spirit of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, and efforts for an ideological-political and moral undermining of the socialist countries.

These aggressive circles are expecting that the arms race should lead to an exhaustion of the socialist countries' economy, to a deterioration of our peoples' living standard, hence to decisively weakening the individual socialist countries, as well as the socialist community as a whole.

As we see, the intentions of the capitalists contain a strong will and a peculiar logic. Only one thing is true, however: We, the Warsaw Pact member-countries, will not permit a disruption of the balance of forces to our detriment. We are defending and will defend with all our efforts the principle of military parity and equal security. It is true that since the end of World War II the situation has never been as tense, alarming, and grave as it has been in recent years.

It would, however, be a great political error of considerable consequences in the strategy and tactics of the struggle against the forces of war to think that the adventurous policy of the warmongering imperialist reaction is enjoying the full and wholehearted support of all parties, states, public figures, and of all business circles in the United States and in the other NATO countries and, therefore, a thermonuclear war is inevitable and irrevocable.

It is true that considerable bourgeois leading circles have preserved their capacity to soberly and realistically evaluate the situation. Furthermore, peace and detente have supporters among all classes, strata, and circles of society in capitalist countries. The struggle against thermonuclear war enjoys the active participation of the worldwide communist and workers movement, of the nonaligned and developing countries, and of the national liberation movement. The forces of peace are incomparably more powerful than the forces of war.

We are optimists, we are doing and will do everything in our power to return the world to the policy of detente and cooperation. We are convinced supporters of mutually advantageous cooperation, with all countries and in all sectors of science, technology, production, and trade. This type of cooperation serves not only us; we hope that it will prevail everywhere and surmount all artificial barriers.

For the sake of peace our countries do not and will not permit the balance of forces to be disrupted to the advantage of imperialism, namely to the advantage of war. For the sake of peace our countries are submitting ever more new international initiatives. For the sake of peace the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making efforts for the transformation of the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. Thus, the fact that the governments of the Balkan Peninsula placed this question on their agenda represents a great moral-political victory over the forces of war. The success of this noble initiative will represent our Balkan contribution to the struggle for detente throughout the world.

As to the crusade against communist ideology that has started, our answer is unmistakable: There is no place for a compromise in the ideological sector. We have no other stand and we can have no other stand on this question.

Dear comrades, we are convinced that the political and ideological work of the party in the struggle for high quality will receive the full support of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, of the trade unions, the Komsomol, and all social and creative organizations. The ideological-political unity and cohesion of our people around the general April line of the BCP will be even more consolidated in this struggle.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE WORKERS CLASS, THE AGRICULTURAL workers, and the intelligentsia, as well as the party, social, and state organs and organizations, and the workers collectives will accept the decisions of the BCP National Conference on improving quality as their own vital cause and that they will invest all their efforts, intelligence, knowledge, and skill, all their will for the implementation of this task.

THERE IS NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARTY'S LONG-TERM PROGRAM ON IMPROVING QUALITY WILL CONSOLIDATE OUR COMPREHENSIVE POWER AND WILL CONSIDERABLY INCREASE OUR OPPORTUNITIES IN HONORABLY FULFILLING OUR PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONAL DUTY AS A PARTY, AS A SOCIALIST STATE, AS A NATION, IN THE STRUGGLE OF MANKIND FOR PEACE, SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND SOCIALISM.

IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATION

AU241600 Prague RUDE PRAVDO in Czech 22 March 84 pp 2-3

["CSSR Government Report on the Fulfillment of its Programmatic Declaration" delivered by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal at a joint meeting of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 21 March]

[Text] In the spirit of the government declaration of 1981, which was approved by the Federal Assembly, the efforts of the government last year focused on securing the targets set by the 16th CPCZ Congress in all spheres of building an advanced socialist society.

I am pleased to be able to present to you at this time a somewhat more favorable assessment of the results achieved in the development of the national economy than in the 2 previous years. The marked overfulfillment of the plan, both in quantitative and qualitative indices, justifies the conclusion that the course of action on which we had decided for the first 3 years of the quinquennium was useful and justified.

I would like to stress in this connection, therefore, the contribution to the balance of the past 3 years by the party organs and organizations, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Union of Youth, the other organizations of the National Front, the deputies of the legislative corps, and the national committees on all levels. I also consider it necessary to praise the dedicated work, the creative effort, and the initiative of the brigades of socialist labor, front-ranking employees, hundreds of thousands of workers, cooperative farmers, members of the technical intelligentsia, innovators, and improvers.

The recent sessions of the Presidium of the party's Central Committee and the federal government pointed to the fact that the present economic development enables not only adherence to the aims and tasks anchored in the law on the Seventh 5-Year Plan, but also makes it possible to secure in 1983-85 quantitative and, above all, qualitative requirements, as an annual average, adopted for this 5-year plan by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the government have decided to adopt measures that tighten and increase the tasks of the state plan for 1984 compared to the original targets, both regarding the growth of national income, of efficient and necessary production, and particularly, the growth of efficiency. In this way we want to follow up on the positive trends of the past period, obtain further resources, and create a very favorable basis for the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The development of the national economy last year was smooth and generally balanced. By pursuing the economy's intensification and asserting cost efficiency and greater general effectiveness, we increased the creation of resources. This made it possible to better satisfy the needs of society, the national economy, and the population.

We succeeded, above all, in raising the dynamism of national economic development. Gross national income amounted to Kcs526 billion and was 2.7 percent higher than in 1982. This signified Kcs14 billion worth of new resources. Prerequisites exist to achieve this year and next year the annual growth of gross national income foreseen by the 16th CPCZ Congress, that is, 3 percent at least.

Compared with previous years, positive changes in the efficiency of national economy were effected much more markedly. Compared with 1982, social productivity of labor increased 1.7 percent and for the current year we have further increased the demands on utmost economy in direct labor input.

In the first 3 years [of the current quinquennium], total costs decreased by Kcs20.7 billion. This was primarily due to a 4.1 percent decrease in the share of material costs.

The energy-intensiveness of the creation of gross national income decreased 2.5 percent compared with 1982. In the course of the quinquennium, we are to achieve relative savings of 14 million metric tons of standard fuel. In the first 3 years we already managed to save 8.2 million metric tons.

On the basis of experience and a comparison of the results of the past 3 years, we can say that the growth rate of these savings is accelerating. This trend must be continued. That is why we consider it necessary to further tighten this year's target in reducing energy-intensiveness by an additional 1 million metric tons of standard fuel. Compared with the target assumed by the 5-year plan, this means a redution by a total of 3 million metric tons of standard fuel.

Total reduction in the standard consumption of ferrous metals amounted to 284,000 metric tons in 1983, which is a 4.9 percent reduction. The savings were primarily due to the engineering branches.

Cost Efficiency and General Efficiency Are Increasing

Increasing endeavor and attention paid to cost efficiency and general efficiency were favorably reflected in the 5 percent growth of labor added value, a Kcs12.8 billion growth in profits compared with 1982, as well as in higher profitability, which amounted to almost 11 percent in relation to costs. A significant contribution to last year's results was made by industry, the level of which increased 3 percent compared with 1982.

The overfulfillment of the production plan has made it possible to increase deliveries for capital investment as well as for export to socialist and nonsocialist countries. Deliveries to the domestic market have improved the situation in satisfying the needs of the population. Compared with 1982, they increased more than Kcs4 billion. However, some of this production was not effectively used and has remained in inventories.

One in 6 enterprises failed to fulfill the production plan, and one in 10 enterprises the plan of labor added value, which was a somewhat worse state of affairs than the previous year.

This fact confirms that the possibilities regarding the performance of our economy are much greater than the effort of enterprises and economic production units to make full use of them. This, however, does no credit to the respective ministries and their methods and style of management. Exactingness must not be merely expatiated; it must be asserted in a quite practical way without reservations, excuses, and unnecessary considerations.

We have set the task for the ministers to draw necessary conclusions from this fact at the appropriate economic production units and enterprises so that in the remaining period they may catch up with the arrears and secure the fulfillment of the tasks set by the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

In keeping with the requirement of structural changes in production, the electrotechnical industry continued to grow. Compared with 1982, its production increased almost 9 percent and its share in total industrial production increased from roughly 5 percent in 1980 to 6 percent. High production growth was attained in production branches that are involved in state target programs.

This is particularly true of electronics, and of the production of technical devices for automated systems of management as well as of electrotechnical consumer goods. The concept of the targets of this year's plan is similar.

In this conection, I would like to inform you that last year the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the federal government discussed problems connected with the development of the electrotechnical industry in this year's plan and in the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the long-term prospects of this branch until 1995. A consistent implementation of the adopted measures will make it possible to both increase the share of this branch in industrial production and, more importantly, to speed up its adaptation to present and future requirements. A concept was also approved for the development of computer technology as well as a draft of a state program of electronization, which stipulates principles for the accelerated introduction of electronics into individual branches of the national economy, both the production and nonproduction spheres.

Because a number of measures ensuing from the CPCZ Central Committee session on scientific-technological development are enshrined in the plan for this year, industrial production must concentrate on expanding the range and speeding up the rate of innovation activity and quality growth; more emphatically carrying out changes in the structure of its sectors and branches; and more flexibly adapting the technical and economic standard of its products to the present demands of world markets and domestic needs. These requirements apply to all industrial branches, especially to engineering and the electrotechnical industry.

A contribution to the positive results of last year was also made by agriculture, which increased gross agricultural production 4 percent compared with 1982. The harvest of more than 11 million metric tons of grain crops meant not only the fulfillment of the planned task; it also meant the highest production level achieved in our country thus far.

Even though the average annual volume of plant production in the past 3 years was 8.5 percent above the annual average of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, which has made it possible to substantially reduce imports of grain crops, we have not yet achieved a harmony between the growth of plant production and the growth of animal production.

Therefore everything must be focused on achieving this year a further increase in plant production, particularly in crops that ensure our fodder base.

The supplying branches, especially engineering and the chemical industry, must not remain on the sidelines in these efforts. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the government recently discussed the progress of work on the concept of the development of agricultural engineering. The implementation of this concept is designed to contribute to improving the meeting of agriculture's needs for materials and technology.

As far as animal production is concerned, we are pleased to note that yields have increased while at the same time the standard consumption of concentrated feed per unit of production declined. With respect to cattle for slaughter, standard consumption of concentrated feed was 18 percent lower than in 1980 and with respect to milk and pigs for slaughter, it was 17 percent lower. These positive trends must be consolidated and intensified. It is necessary to gradually establish fodder reserves, especially in the agricultural enterprises themselves. This should secure a more stable growth of animal production in the future.

Some positive trends in agriculture confirm the positive impact of the measures adopted to improve the system of planned management in that sector. However, we can by no means be satisfied with the assertion of these measures in practical life. The entire sphere of management, from the ministries down to individual places of work, must concentrate on their active solution. What matters above all is to raise the standard of planning, eliminate continuing administrative approaches to formulating and ensuring planned tasks, implement the intentions of the system in the sphere of supplier-user relations, finally resolve the role and enhance the responsibility of service organizations, and more pronouncedly apply in the entire agricultural complex the principles of khozraschet [cost accounting system based on financial accountability].

We are convinced that the entire preparation for and the actual results of the 10th statewide congress of united agricultural cooperatives will enrich our practice by new methods, approaches, and sources of initiative. We want them to be reflected in a further growth of agricultural production, which is a prerequisite of fulfilling tasks in the food industry, satisfying the needs of the domestic market, and further increasing the degree of our self-reliance. This would also be positively reflected in the foreign trade balance of this sector.

Deliveries of foodstuffs to the domestic market are to increase Kcs2.8 billion this year. However, it is necessary to make a better use of agricultural raw materials and to much more emphatically concentrate on the production of such a range of foodstuffs as is commensurate with the consumers' demand. Greater attention must also be devoted to the quality and innovation of some types of goods.

Living Standards Have Further Consolidated

We can state that on the basis of the achieved results, the most important directive of the 16th CPCZ Congress -- to maintain and improve the existing living standards and social guarantees of the population -- was fulfilled in the third year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Personal consumption increased more than 2 percent compared with 1982. Monetary incomes of the population, which increased Kcs11.3 billion and were thus 3 percent higher than in 1982, were the main source of this growth. In connection with the 1 percent increase in the cost of living, the real value of monetary incomes of the population increased 2 percent.

Average monthly wages of employees in the state socialist sector were Kcs2,789 in 1983, Kcs51 higher than in 1982.

We regard the fact that the proportion of flexible components in the structure of wages in industry and agriculture increased as important. In the remuneration system it is essential to reinforce differentiation on the basis of merit and actual results. A prerequisite of this is a greater effectiveness of the wage systems, beginning with more objective norms governing labor and material consumption and ending with correct assigning to appropriate grades and pay categories. Particularly important is a more consistent application of these principles in practice. The government has adopted measures aimed at implementing the second stage of raising the effectiveness of the wage systems and it expects managers, together with party and trade union organizations, to establish all necessary prerequisites for their implementation.

The most notably growing component of living standards in 1983 was social consumption in which expenditures amounted to more than Kcs158 billion. This was a 3.3 percent increase against 1982, owing primarily to increased expenditures on health care, education, and social security.

In connection with the development of the incomes of the population, we must note that problems connected with necessary supplies to the domestic market and the effort to ensure a balanced domestic market in terms of the volumes, structure, and variety of goods offered remain the subject of increased attention of the leadership of our party and the federal and national governments. The retail trade turnover increased 3.1 percent against 1982; sales of industrial merchandise registered a faster (4.6 percent) growth than sales of foodstuffs (1.5 percent) and accounted for almost 53 percent of total retail trade turnover. We can note at the same time that the food market is generally stable.

Despite these positive tendencies, we shall have to react more consistently in our further development to the fact that in 1983, retail trade turnover grew faster than set by the annual plan, but more slowly than the incomes of the population. The choice of goods still suffers from the fact that the respective tasks and targets ensuring from party and government documents are not being fulfilled by everyone and everywhere. Likewise, we are not succeeding in implementing to the necessary extent measures aimed at a faster growth of deliveries of goods that are in short supply, and in introducing supplementary production of consumer goods by producers that have not been producing them thus far. Neither has there been, with certain exceptions, the required acceleration in the innovation of consumer goods so that new products might more markedly stimulate consumers' demand. On the contrary, the technological backwardness of consumer goods in some cases lowers the interest of consumers, assisting the growth of unsalable stocks in production and in trade. It is self-evident that not only the production sector must improve the quality of its work; commercial organizations must do the same.

The government is paying constant attention to the problems of environment. We concentrate, above all, on improving the situation in the area below Krusne Hory, in Prague, Bratislava, the Ostrava area, and the Upper Nitra area.

In the federal budget for 1984 we earmarked almost Kcs2 billion for these purposes, aside from other resources. A number of important projects and installations essential for improving the quality of the atmosphere and of waterways in the most-exposed areas is under construction, and the beginning of other projects is planned for this year. He emphasized, however, that we regard as no less important that all enterprises, plants, and institutions consistently see to the optimal utilization of all existing facilities and that they devote greater attention to their maintenance and to improving their functioning in protecting the environment.

I would like to note that the solution of this problem requires a comprehensive and united approach, which must exert influence on decisionmaking concerning effective capital investment at all levels of management. It is also necessary to resolutely reject any possible pressures ensuing from the selfish group interests of some organizations, which would ultimately only water down and hamper our endeavor to improve the environment.

The Development of External Economic Relations

In the course of the Seventh 5-Year Plan thus far, we have also achieved some good results in external economic relations. First and foremost among them is the fact that foreign trade turnover with socialist countries increased more than 11 percent last year, which is a higher than planned growth rate. We seek an equalized balance of payments with the Soviet Union. As regards bilateral trade with other socialist countries, our balances of payments are positive.

In accordance with the directive of the party congress, we strengthened economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, which plays a key and irreplaceable role in our external economic relations. In the first 3 years of the current quinquennium, exports to the USSR increased more than 50 percent (52.3 percent). In 1983, the turnover of our mutual trade increased 14 percent and accounted for 44 percent of the total turnover of Czechoslovak foreign trade, including socialist and nonsocialist countries. The implementation of the Long-Term Program of Developing Specialization and Production Sharing between the two countries, which covers the period until 1990, has had a positive impact [on Czechoslovak-Soviet trade].

In the current stage of work on preparing the concepts of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it is important to work out proposals for further specialization and production sharing with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Central agencies, together with economic production units, are preparing such programs, which will become a basis for talks with other CEMA member-countries on coordinating plans for the coming period.

We regard as another positive trend in the development of the national economy the fact that we have been reducing our indebtedness in freely convertible currencies. The extent of this reduction has been greater than enjoined by the 5-year plan. Since the end of 1981, our net indebtedness has decreased by a full 50 percent. We will continue this trend aimed at achieving a balanced position in the area of freely convertible currencies.

In contrast to 1981 and 1982, the plan of exports to nonsocialist countries was fulfilled in 1983. Compared with 1982, these exports grew 5.7 percent. However, paramount attention must be paid to the problem of the effectiveness of our exports. For the time being, exports to these countries are dominated by products with a low degree of processing and a small input of human, especially creative, work. That is why the respective ministries and economic production units must concentrate on a more rapid implementation of the conclusions of the 16th party congress as regards the quality and technical-economic standard of products and technologies, including the use of incentives for effective exports. This orientation must be more effectively aided by government and economic bodies dealing with the problems of foreign trade.

How to Continue Capital Investment

In keeping with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the government pursue a line of increasing the effectiveness of capital investment by means of its concentration on a priority solution for all-social needs, by reducing the number of projects simultaneously under construction, and by speeding up the completion of decisive projects.

Good results were yielded by the measures that were adopted to reduce the scope of capital investment [mira investovani] and the number of newly started projects. The scope of capital investment was reduced to 29 percent last year, compared with 30.5 percent in 1980. Whereas in the years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan we were, on an annual average, starting projects worth some Kcs70 billion, in the last 3 years we managed to keep this volume at a level of Kcs40 billion. We intend to maintain this trend in the years to come.

The commissioning of new capacities remains a weak spot. Out of 91 projects of importance to the national economy planned to be commissioned last year, only 77 were actually put into operation. In 1982, it amounted to only 74 out of 106 projects. Thus there is a certain progress, although we can by no means be satisfied, especially if we consider the insufficient utilization of commissioned projects.

Special attention must be paid to the course of construction of nuclear power plants, the putting into operation of which is seriously lagging behind. The ministries of heavy engineering and electrotechnical industry, together with the Ministry of Power and Fuels, must now energetically assert measures that will ensure adherence to the new construction schedules.

Ministries and economic production units must also take necessary steps to raise the production effectiveness of basic production assets, the development of which is very unfavorable. Their utilization declined more than 12 percent since 1980; at the same time, the shift work rate coefficient in our industry has for a number of years been at around 1.3 and does not show any tendency to rise.

The nature and the scope of the plan of capital investment established prerequisites for improved performance of the building industry. Even though we reckoned with a slight decrease last year, the volume of construction work increased 2.7 percent compared with 1982. More than 94,000 apartments were completed. The number of completed apartments since the beginning of the quinquennium is 291,000, which is a shortfall of 15,000 apartments for these 3 years. Unfortunately, the arrears in housing construction are concentrated in areas in which we urgently need apartments, including the capital, Prague.

The fulfillment of the program of housing construction -- which the 16th congress laid down as a priority -- is an urgent requirement affecting all participants in comprehensive housing construction.

An analysis of the results of our national economy last year shows that the socioeconomic climate is beginning to change. Stress is being shifted to the quality aspects of development. Practice has proven the principles and premises of the Set of Measures to be useful and in need of consistent implementation and further development. Therefore, as Comrade Husak stressed in his closing speech at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, "in the interest of more energetically overcoming shortcomings that slow down a more rapid progress, it is necessary, above all, to systematically improve the quality of managerial work. There are a great many good experiences and examples in this area but, on the whole, there continues to be a lot of routine and stereotype work and a tendency to merely take note of shortcomings instead of actively tackling them. There still appear in practice attempts to engage in speculations with plan fulfillment and to establish conditions for one's own comfortable life to the detriment of social interests. This is at variance with the principles of socialist remuneration and with the needs of socialist development, and we must not become reconciled to this."

This situation must be kept constantly in mind. We are aware of the fact that thus far we have been successful in tapping the more easily accessible reserves. The main task, however -- coming to terms with the basic factors of long-term efficiency, based above all on implementing scientific-technical development, raising the technical-economic standard of production, speeding up the rate of innovation processes, and utilizing to the utmost available basic assets -- remains ahead of us.

On the basis of these findings, we embarked last year in the above-mentioned spheres on testing and, where appropriate, generally applying some new measures. The need for this stemmed from the conclusions of the eighth CPCZ Central Committee session, which we are implementing in the sphere of technological development. A number of organizational, economic, and legislative steps have been taken to raise the efficiency of technological development. At the end of 1983, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the federal government approved a package of the most important measures necessary for the implementation of the eighth CPCZ Central Committee session.

Some of them have already been incorporated into the plan for this year.

In order to raise the efficiency of capital investment and improve the utilization of basic assets, the financing of capital construction from a single investment source has been introduced in most industrial branches. The creation of this source and its use have a pronouncedly khozraschet character. The same purpose is to be served by the fact that, since 1 January 1984, a supplier can no longer submit an invoice for the entire volume of work already performed, but only for complete units that have been taken over by the customer.

Man Is the Decisive Factor

Even in 1984, the failure to adhere to the planned level of inventories and their turnover will have much harsher consequences, both for the earnings of enterprises and, above all, their managerial staff.

In order to raise the export performance and the effectiveness of foreign trade, we are testing measures, the basic intention of which is a closer linkage between production organizations and foreign trade organizations and enhanced responsibility of producers for results achieved on foreign markets.

These and some other measures are being tested and gradually introduced into practice. Thereby we want to create better conditions for the fulfillment of tasks in the remaining time of the Seventh 5-Year Plan as well as for a more comprehensive adjustment of the system of management in the period after 1985. There is no doubt that the system of management in its present form and the economic mechanism require a truly thorough reconstruction and that everything we have done in this direction to date is but a beginning.

We proceed from the premise that the dominant role in the system of management must be played by central national economic planning and by such features that will as effectively as possible promote intensive development, efficiency, and quality of production.

This means, above all, that the State Planning Commission, in much closer cooperation with all central agencies and economic production units [than previously], should improve the system of planning so as to substantially deepen the mutual interlinkage of individual components of plans and their long-term nature, link material criteria with those related to value, and consistently ensure the guiding role of the 5-year plan.

This means to further strengthen the independence and economic responsibility of the enterprise sphere and to more consistently implement the principles of khozraschet. Everything must be aimed at creating more exacting conditions for the access of economic organizations to financial resources and at directing their use toward necessary structural and qualitative changes in production.

In saying this we are fully aware that the decisive factor of intensification is man himself, on whom this process puts ever greater demands. Experience shows us that far from all opportunities have been utilized so far, whether this concerns counterplanning, the orientation of socialist competition toward the quality-related aspects of production, or the movement of improvers and inventors.

It is therefore necessary to comprehensively support the further growth of the creative initiative of the working people and to consistently improve conditions for their participation in management. Together with the Central Trade Union Council, the government considers it necessary to organize and unfold a broad current of initiative and activity to mark the 40th anniversary of the slovak national uprising and of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army.

I would also like to inform you that an important stage of work is currently underway on a basic concept regarding the long-term prospects of the economic and social development of the CSSR until 1995. This work is taking place concurrently with the preparation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. At the same time, work has begun on a comprehensive prognosis of scientific-technological, economic, and social development until the year 2000.

We want to be clear even today about the coming possibilities of an optimal functioning of our economy, about the strategy of developing science and technology, and about the lifestyle and social role of the population so as to optimize on the basis of this knowledge the future structure of the economy from the viewpoint of effectiveness, rely on the maximal growth of the social productivity of labor, and make use of the results of scientific-technical development and, in general, of all possibilities ensuing from intensifying the socialist economic integration.

The State Planning Commission has special responsibility for drawing up the "Basic Trends." In close interaction with the State Commission for Scientific-Technological and Investment Promotion and individual sectors and on the basis of an objective assessment of the materials submitted by the ministries and other bodies and their confrontation with already approved targets and directives, it must make use of all positive experiences with the aim of drawing up a balanced, exacting, but realistic proposal commensurate with the needs of our time, with the needs of building an advanced socialist society.

Observance of Socialist Legality

As you know, a number of laws and other important legal acts have been discussed and approved in the legislative sphere. The traditionally good cooperation between the government and the Federal Assembly has once again been manifested in this process, for which I would like to convey sincere thanks to you in the name of the government.

At the same time I would like to express the conviction that our cooperation will continue in the future in which work will be underway on amending penal provisions and also when, for example, a mining law, a law on traffic on road communications, a law on trademarks, and a law on state energy inspection will be prepared.

I informed you last year that, in agreement and coordination with the Central Trade Union Council, we had taken steps toward a political-legal analysis of the labor code and other legal provisions related to work.

Even though this work has not yet been completed, it has become apparent that it would be useful to establish, while fully respecting the rights of citizens, better conditions for effective management, for the deployment and utilization of manpower, and for its stabilization and remuneration. Neither can the protection of social property and some other issues be left aside.

After discussing such an analysis, the government, together with the Central Trade Union Council, will orient further work so that in the final phase it would result in the necessary changes both of the law mentioned above, and also of the other regulations of the labor code.

In connection with the improvement and consolidation of the legal code we are striving to achieve strict adherence to socialist legality, to enhance the efficiency of the work of all bodies that ensure the protection of our citizens' rights and public order. In connection with the measures adopted last year by the government, we are also deepening the supervision of execution of state administration, where certain shortcomings persevere in adherence to regulations, but particularly in the protection of our economy against criminal activities.

Economic criminality in particular represents an increasingly growing part of punishable offenses that are prosecuted. It is becoming obvious that we must be still more purposeful in continuing to raise the standards of control, registration, protection, and vigilance over values of socialist ownership -- this should be the primary duty, above all, of the leading economic staff. This is also fully valid for the nonproduction sphere, and for the appropriate organizations of the National Front.

The Tasks of National Committees Are Irreplaceable

In keeping with the line adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress, the federal government, together with the governments of the two republics, is devoting a lasting attention to further improving the activities of national committees. The conclusions of the sixth CPCZ Central Committee session have been worked out, and the course to be taken by ministerial departments in realizing them has been coordinated.

Our experience to date shows that the strengthened operation of national committees is beginning to show a positive effect in ensuring the citizens' needs and in the comprehensive development of territorial zones [abvody]. The same can be said of the implementation of coordination functions and of control authority in central localities.

We also register an enhanced concern for housing construction on the part of our national committees. However, despite this it must be frankly said that in a number of places the preparations for this construction are still inadequate, the same can be said of its comprehensive, technical, and civic equipment. We can still encounter new apartments with low standards, particularly in certain regions and districts. Shortcomings continue to be manifested also in maintenance and repair work, and in the reconstruction and modernization of the housing fund. In the very near future we will be dealing with these problems again, and we will be looking for ways to eliminate the above shortcomings.

Recently it has become obvious with particular urgency that we must improve the management structures of housing settlement complexes that are part of large cities. Their emergence without the necessary organizations and institutional adjustments has made it more difficult to enhance the citizens' active participation in the administration of housing developments. No suitable conditions have been established for organizing social life or for developing political-organizational work for the activities of the aktiv of our national committees and social organizations of the National Front.

Our experience also confirms that the existing methods for ensuring smooth and regular supplies to the trade network, the organization of transport, and the functioning of other public services, as well as care for cleanliness and for living environments are no longer suitable.

These problems, too, we want to resolve in the near future, in cooperation with the governments of the two republics and with national committees.

A relatively high standard of supplying cities and communities and the balanced satisfaction of their basic needs make it possible, and also demand from us, that we weigh more carefully the direction in which the social means will be spent in the future. One must constantly bear in mind the strict viewpoints of thrift also in the work of national committees. We also know the priorities -- living environments, water supplies, health care, education, the material base of the social sphere; and they all must be taken into account in the first place. As regards other actions, we must carefully weigh whether they are necessary and economically justified.

The election programs of the National Front are of great political significance for the development of our communities and cities. The joint work of the citizens, of the National Front organizations, and of the working people in enterprises and insitutions in fulfilling these programs have yielded a number of results that testify to the interest, initiative, and activity of our public. We are justified in appreciating these results, and all those who had put their shoulder to the wheel deserve sincere thanks. The fact is that the values created in the investment part of the "Z" project [community self-improvement program], worth Kcs3.8 billion, together with the emphatic savings of costs, have made it possible to acquire new, socially advantageous facilities. The creation last year of more than 800 km of water mains and drainage network, more than 300 shops and service workshops, 126 school classrooms, health and social facilities, and other actions have undoubtedly contributed toward improving the citizens' living standards. In the plan for the remaining years of the 5-year plan as well we must continue establishing the prerequisities needed for this sphere.

Soon we will be commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising; next year we will be recalling one of the most significant events of our peoples' modern history -- the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army. We should welcome these anniversaries with a new initiative by our citizens, national committees, social organizations, enterprises, and institutions; we should orient this initiative toward embellishing and generally improving the appearance and supply of cities and communities, toward improving the quality of living environments and housing.

Last year the measures for a better satisfaction of the demand for paid services became valid. Thus far we have registered a positive impact of changes in the system of their management, particularly in those services that have simplified planning and improved the functioning of the mechanism of economic management in the organization of services. Proof of this is the growing volume of paid services, the expansion of what they offer, and the increased number of collecting centers and workshops. The management changes were also reflected in the reduced consumption of spare parts, materials, and raw materials. Thus we can state in general that certain progress is beginning to show in this sphere.

Nevertheless, there are considerable, and frequently unjustified, differences in the use of opportunities provided by the adopted measures. National committies have been making the desirable use of their authority and general responsibility for the development of services; the organizations and production cooperatives managed by them still have an unpaid debt to the citizens.

The citizens, on the other hand, are quite justly pointing out that many places are treading water in this sphere and showing too little flexibility and determination in ensuring the satisfaction of the citizens' justified needs and interests. They also rightly criticize the fact that the raised prices for services are not always manifested in a visible improvement and promptness of services.

We do not intend to tolerate the situation existing in this important and politically sensitive sector. In close collaboration with the national governments, we will proceed to push through an improvement of the quality of management, the needed changes in the internal structure of service enterprises, and the elimination of superfluous administrative work and of various intermediary organizational links -- in brief, all that uselessly complicates services and raises their price. At the same time, the national committees must be more flexible in increasingly setting up simple and cheap forms of services; they must work out to the end quite precise concepts for developing the services for a longer period. It will be only useful if the citizens become aware of these plans, to be able to support their realization and then check up on it.

However, the services cannot be ensured to the fullest extent only by the organizations of local economy and by production cooperatives. In the other sectors of economy, too, it is necessary to establish conditions for granting and expanding those services that are within the scope of these organizations.

The Education System Is Being Improved

Our school system is in lively, creative motion; for several years it has been undergoing improvement in the educational process. We have reached the final stage with the elementary schools, and we are beginning a general reorganization of the secondary school level. In September we will embark on a significant feat in the sphere of youth education -- the introduction of 10-year compulsory school attendance. This step is in keeping with the objective trends and needs of our socialist society, and it corresponds to our relatively high level of socioeconomic development.

The material and cadre prerequisites for this have either already been created, or are being finalized; the preparation of a new concept of grammar schools, occupational secondary schools, and vocational secondary apprentice schools is nearing conclusion.

At the beginning of January, the government approved a new draft law on the elementary and secondary school system and submitted it to the Federal Assembly. In the same month the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the government discussed the detailed audit report on the fulfillment of the program of further developing the educational system, which will serve as the foundation for the deliberations of the second all-state teacher's conference in June 1984.

We can say that good results are being achieved in the fulfillment of our upbringing and educational tasks. Today more than 90 percent of preschool age children attend kindergartens, in the construction and expansion of which the plants play a significant role.

The quality of the upbringing and educational process in elementary schools is improving; the pupils' activity and mental processes are developing, and their work training is intensifying. Those partial shortcomings that still crop up are being resolved, particularly by amending the curriculum and by enhancing the qualifications of teachers' cadres.

The upgraded, modernized content of tuition at the higher level enables us to improve the training of youth in all kinds of secondary schools, both for practical vocations, and for university-level education. The new concept is most strikingly manifested in grammar schools, above all in the more consistent implementation of the polytechnical principle, in the introduction of specialized subjects with a technical and economic orientation, and in the strengthening of work training.

We pay constant attention to training our youth for worker occupations. In harmony with the development of production forces, with the implementation of scientific-technological progress, and with the overall development of our society, we want our youth to have a deeper, general education, and also to be better equipped professionally. That is why we place so much emphasis on fully equipping the secondary vocational institutions with material and cadres.

These are most exacting tasks -- all the more so, since, while we are ensuring them, we must also expect the arrival of a population bulge, and our secondary schools will have to successfully cope with this. For this purpose a number of measures have been prepared in close collaboration with the governments of the two republics, with the aim of comprehensively ensuring the compulsory 10-year school attendance and of expediently resolving the material and financial conditions for students in all schools, including university-level schools.

I would also like to mention, at least briefly, one issue that has been at the center of public attention: namely, the placement of graduates of secondary and university-level schools. In truth, we must concede that we have not yet succeeded in channeling interest in given studies quite in keeping with the needs and possibilities of society, of the national economy, and naturally also of the school graduates themselves. Consequently, we have an inordinately large number of applicants for certain fields of studies, and only a small number of applicants for other fields. At the same time, we lack experts in a number of fields that have good prospects and are developing rapidly.

Those who are considering, or concluding, their studies must understand that qualified work in their field will not chase after them, that they must themselves go where there is work. Moreover, it is right for them, for their professional and personal self-realization, to start work in a job in which they can make use of the specialization which they have spent many years mastering.

One must also expect an increasing number of graduates from secondary schools to take up worker jobs which require high qualifications because the continuing scientific-technological advances in production will bring increasingly obvious changes to the nature of these occupations.

Appropriate material is being prepared on the placement of graduates from secondary and university-level schools and on utilizing the education and qualifications of manpower in the national economy; the federal government wants to discuss this already in this half-year.

Last year was also most significant for the spheres of culture and the arts; it culminated in the festive opening of the National Theatre.

The 16th party congress conclusions for culture and the arts are of continuing topical validity. We are striving to establish comprehensive conditions to make it possible for all culture and all creative work in the arts to influence the opinions, morale, and civic attitudes of our people, and thus to play a part in creating the socialist way of life. It is particularly in this context that it is becoming necessary to be more resolute in warding off all the negative influences and tendencies of bourgeois culture that are being frequently introduced in our country even under the camouflage of false modernity and fashion.

More Attention to Health Care

In health care we have mainly been devoting attention to improving out-patient health services for people working in industry and agriculture.

The plants' doctors are currently providing such services for almost 60 percent of the working people; we want to expand these services so that at the beginning of the nineties they cover 75 percent of the working people. Last year the number of area and plant medical districts continued to increase, and there are now almost 700 more doctors in the out-patient health service institutions than previously. Now we must embark on further improving preventive medical care and linking it more closely with the hygiene services, national committees, and enterprises and institutions.

A great deal has been done to improve hospital care. A new gynecology-obstetrics clinic was recently opened in Brno; childrens wards in the hospitals in Ceska Lipa, Nove Zamky, and Galanta; a hospital in Jihlava; a clinic for plastic surgery in Prague; and other facilities have been opened as well. The total number of beds in intensive care wards, and in wards for patients who are concluding treatment, has increased.

Nevertheless, addressing the national committees and construction organizations, we must remark that there is still a considerable shortage of hospital beds, because of the insufficient maintence and modernization of older hospital buildings, and also because of the unsatisfactory fulfillment of capital construction tasks. There are still long waiting times for hospital treatment, particularly in surgery, orthapedics, gynecology, or ophthalmic cases.

The situation in Prague continues to be unsatisfactory: Here almost 64 percent of the bed facilities are older than 75 years, and more than 50 percent of the facilities are in urgent need of modernization because they are either in a precarious state, or have even been taken out of service. This matter will brook no delay, particularly because the mission of medical care here is much broader, since it also plays a role in developing medicine, in educating doctors, and in providing for other areas of health care on a statewide scale.

Therefore we expect to consider in the very near future the draft of a general plan for developing health care in our capital, Prague, with a view to eliminating the shortcomings I have mentioned.

The provision of health and social services for the elderly is improving, even if only slowly; good results are being achieved in care for women and children. More day nurseries were opened in 1983, and they now care for almost 23 percent of the children under the age of 3.

On the whole we can say that our health care is of a relatively good standard, and in several aspects of the top standard. However, we most definitely cannot be satisfied everywhere with the quality of actual health care, or with the attitude of some doctors and medical staff toward the patients. This moral-political aspect of the matter is a sphere to which both the ministries and the national committees must devote far greater attention than they have thus far; they must see to it that a further improvement takes place in this respect as well.

Permit me to make some remarks about the problems in the development of our physical education.

The good results achieved by Czechoslovak athletes last year in Helsinki, and this year in Goteborg, and particularly the successful feats of our representatives at the 14th Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, show a certain trend toward improvement in our physical education.

This trend is supported by the conclusions and measures adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on certain issues of the further development of performance sports and on the economic ensurance of physical education; these have been declared the basic orientation of the activity of all state bodies and appropriate social organizations.

Naturally, we are happy about the successes of top sports performers; at the same time we fully realize the responsibility for deepening and improving, on a priority basis, all those fields of physical culture that have a mass impact and in which the broad strata of our population can actively participate.

In the past period the state bodies and national committees accomplished a great deal of useful work, in close cooperation with the social organizations, and particularly with the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education, the Union for Cooperation With the Army (SVAZARM), the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (RHO), and the Socialist Youth Union (SSM). However, of course, the main and decisive tasks lie ahead. We expect to deal with the issues of the further mass development of physical education and sports in the very near future. Likewise, we intend to devote the appropriate attention to preparing and ensuring the Czechoslovak Spartacus Games 1985.

The Principles of Our Foreign Policy.

In foreign policy we have consistently adhered to the principles anchored in the 16th CPCZ Congress line and in the contents of the CSSR Government's program statement of 1981. We considered the federal government's most important task to be to strive to avert the danger of a nuclear war; to halt armament and achieve gradual disarmament; to strive for international detente; and for coexistence between states with different social systems, in the spirit of the declaration adopted by the Prague session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in January 1983, and of the Moscow meeting of top party and state officials in June 1983. After all, we were oriented in this direction by the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session last November, which had carried out a principled assessment of the current international situation and at the same time determined the basic tasks of Czechoslovak foreign policy in this demanding period.

Because of the escalating aggressive actions of the reactionary forces of imperialism, the international situation considerably deteriorated last year, and it is still complicated. A new round of the arms race continues in the United States and in certain other member countries of NATO; it is aimed at acquiring military supremacy over the countries of the socialist community. At the same time, imperialism is arming itself not only on earth, but also on the seas and in outer space; it is pursuing a policy of extortion and diktat, and it is arbitrarily declaring spheres of so-called vital American interest. It has become clear that the Washington government will not hesitate to use armed force to suppress revolutionary liberation movements, as the events in Grenada and Lebanon, and the Nicaragua situation have shown. There is a great danger hidden in the strengthening U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean, in the Persian Gulf, and in the Mediterranean.

A particularly dangerous situation has been created in Europe, where the deployment of new American first-strike nuclear weapons began in the final months of last year on the territories of three out of the five Western states expected. The Soviet Union and its allies, including Czechoslovakia, had given ample warning that the deployment of new missiles would not remain without countermeasures on the part of the Warsaw Pact states, and that we would not permit the strategic equilibrium to be upset, and the community's security to be threatened. At the same time, we submitted a number of peace initiatives, and in all negotiations we strove for a just solution of the existing problems while respecting the principle of identical equal security. We are not to blame if the United States and certain of its allies have remained quite deaf to these good-will gestures, thus taking upon themselves a great responsibility toward the nations of Europe and the whole world.

In this situation, it was inevitable that appropriate measures would be adopted to ensure the defense of our socialist fatherland and the Warsaw Pact states. By agreement between the CSSR and USSR Governments, operational-tactical missile complexes are also being installed on Czechoslovak territory. In its statement of 24 October 1983, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium expressed the necessity and inevitability of these measures for strengthening the defense ability of Czechoslovakia and of our entire community, in the interests of preserving peace and averting war. Having learned from the bitter experience of history, we could not passively watch how the independence of our fatherland and the other socialist countries was being threatened. The adopted measures serve to presserve the equilibrium, and thus also all-European security; on no account do they pursue the aim of acquiring military advantages for us. In this connection, I want to stress that our peace initiatives, which propose the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and on the preservation of peaceful relations between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as the proposals on limiting armament and on banning chemical and space weapons, and those on freezing and gradually reducing military expenditures, continue to be fully valid. Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, recently spoke about that vital issue for mankind -- the danger of nuclear annihilation; he said that we consider averting the nuclear war to be the main goal of our own foreign policy, and that it is necessary to strive, step by step and according to the principle of equal security, for reducing nuclear armaments to the point of total liquidation of all kinds of such armament.

We do not harbor any illusions that imperialism's aggressive plans will slacken in the near future. That is also why we continue to regard the consolidation of the action, unity, and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community as the imperative demand of our times. With international unity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries throughout the Warsaw Pact and CEMA system, it is possible to ward off the threat and also to seek a sensible outcome to the existing complicated international situation. We place great emphasis on the consistent coordination of the fraternal countries' foreign-political course.

Jointly we made a great effort for the success of the Madrid meeting of the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. Last September the final document of Madrid proved that the policy of detente has taken deep root, that these ideas continue to live, and that it is possible to achieve a mutually acceptable result in negotiations between states with differing social systems even in a complicated situation. that is also why we welcomed the subsequent convening of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which has been in session since this January in Stockholm. It should contribute toward establishing an atmosphere of trust in Europe and, in the next phase, toward achieving disarmament agreements.

The Socialist countries' peace initiatives are the basis of the Czechoslovak foreign policy both in the United Nations and in the disarmament conferences in Geneva and Vienna, where negotiations were reopened last week, as well as in all our international negotiations. The cause of peace has become the concern of all Czechoslovak people. It is sufficient to recall the time last June, when Prague was host to the World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War.

I would like, comrades, to mention the matter of the 20 kidnapped Czechoslovak citizens who are being held in southern Angola by the UNITA organization. It is already 1 year since these men were dragged, together with their wives and children, from their peaceful work in the Alto Catumbela complex. This whole time the leading party and state bodies, and also Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and the Republic's president have been personally making great efforts to save them. The women and children, and some of the men, have returned to the fatherland. We are striving by every available diplomatic means to ensure the return of the remaining 20 men. We will continue not to spare any effort to protect their lives and to bring them back home, to the fatherland.

On the Further Development of Friendly Relations

In the spirit of the 16th CPCZ Congress line, in the past period, too, it was the main task of the CSSR's foreign-political activity to consolidate its unity, firm alliance, and fraternal cooperation with the USSR and with other socialist countries. It is particularly on the all-round cooperation and collaboration with the Soviet Union that our security, the certainty of our independence, and the further advancement of socialism in our fatherland depend.

The development of contacts with the Warsaw Pact stated and with other socialist countries showed high standards and rich results. I have primarily in mind the whole series of significant meetings with the representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, and the Socialist Republic of Romania. Last year, during the visit of our party and state delegation to Warsaw, we again declared that we will support the Polish comrades' efforts to consolidate the positions of socialism in their country. We are ensuring the systematic growth of all-round contacts with socialist Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. With the DPRK we are striving to further develop our cooperation for the benefit of both our countries. In the very near future, Comrade Mika Spiljak, chairman of the SFRY Presidium, will visit at the CSSR President's invitation; this is proof of the deepening friendly relations between the two countries.

The normalization of interstate contacts with the PRC is underway, even though it is going more slowly than we would wish. It is our wish to fully continue these efforts.

In practice we have affirmed the principles of the 16th CPCZ Congress on all-round cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We concentrated our primary attention on those countries that have taken the socialist path of development and are consolidating their national sovereignty and independence in the struggle against the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism. We highly value the goals, and we respect the activities of the Nonaligned Movement, which is an important peace and anti-imperialist force in today's world. The CSSR has always been on the side of those who are fighting against imperialist expansionism and for peace and social progress.

The interest of our foreign policy continues to be primarily directed toward the countries of the Arab world with which we are developing relations on the principles of solidarity and support for their just fight against the aggression of imperialism and Zionism. We also rank most of them among our significant long-term economic partners. We are linked by fraternal international relations with the PDRY. We are developing and deepening our traditional friendly contacts particularly with the Syrian Arab Republic, the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. A certain revitalization has taken place in our relations with Tunisia, and in the development of economic contacts with Egypt.

We have condemned the American-Israeli aggression in Lebanon, and we have consistently advocated the fulfillment of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own independent state. We maintain the opinion that it is necessary to put an end to the military conflict between Iraq and Iran, and to seek a just resolution of the conflict through negotiations, since this would represent an undoubted contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle in that part of the world.

In the Asian area, our traditional friends include the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which enjoys our solidarity in the struggle against domestic and foreign reaction.

We have consolidated our traditional and very good relations with the Republic of India through negotiations between presidents and government chairmen, and we can state that the level of relations and friendly cooperation with India has been further enhanced. A further upsurge has been registered, particularly in economic relations, with the Socialist Republic to expand our cooperation with Socialist Ethiopia, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Republic of Angola, and other countries.

Latin America has not remained outside our interest, either. We have particularly extensive contacts with the Republic of Nicaragua; we express our appreciation for its courageous struggle for its national sovereignty by manifestations of solidarity and assistance.

Even in the current exacerbated international situation, we will continue to develop relations with the developed capitalist states on the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of equal rights, while consistently rejecting any and all forms of pressure, discrimination, and meddling in internal affairs.

Our contacts with the neighboring Republic of Austria have retained their good level. The CSSR has been expressing, and continues to express, its interest in developing cooperation with the FRG on the principles of equality and mutual advantage, in keeping with the Treaty on Mutual Relations of 1973, while expanding the results achieved in economic cooperaton in particular. We must state, however, that the Bonn Bundestag's agreement to the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles has complicated our mutual relations with the FRG, particularly in the political sphere.

We have traditional friendly contacts with Finland, and we are of the opinion that favorable conditions also exist for cooperation with other Nordic countries.

We are always interested in deepening political dialogue and developing mutually advantageous and balanced contacts with France; in the past period they were characterized by greater activity, and this has been enhanced by the exchange of visits on government level.

We have achieved a high level of mutual relations with the Greek Government; and the existing treaty basis establishes favorable prerequisites for further deepening our mutual cooperation.

With the Republic of Cyprus, too, we are linked by relations of mutual cooperation. We want to develop these contacts further, for the benefit of the people of both countries. We will also continue to support a just solution of the Cyprus problem, with the preservation of the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

Our relations with Turkey register an ascending trend. In its relations with Great Britain, Czechoslovakia is primarily guided by the endeavor to increase trade. Our contacts with the Republic of Malta also continue successfully; the recent visit of Malta's prime minister and president to Czechoslovakia has also contributed toward this.

In the recent period we did not succeed in overcoming the stagnation of political contacts with Italy, a stagnation that has lasted for several years now. However, like our relations with the FRG and Great Britain, our contacts with Italy are affected by the deployment of American nuclear missiles on the country's territory.

I would also like to express my appreciation of the revival of mutual relations with Spain that has taken place in the last few years. We are sincerely interested in continuing this trend, and in further expanding contacts in all spheres.

As regards Portugal, we have welcomed the fact that the normalization of mutual relations is currently taking place. This is opening up possibilities for renewing political dialogue and expanding cooperation in all spheres.

The upward trend in mutual relations, particularly in the economic sphere, continues with Japan. Despite this, there still exist considerable possibilities for developing cooperation with that country, particularly in trade and scientific-technological spheres.

As you well know, Canada's prime minister, Pierre Trudeau, visited Czechoslovakia this January. The open exchange of opinions on the most important issues was undoubtedly useful for the dialogue between East and West, as well as for our bilateral cooperation.

The stagnation in our mutual relations with the United States continues, because the United States continues its discriminatory measures against our republic, which make it more difficult to find possibilities for expanding cooperation.

The above list of our foreign-political activities, which is far from complete, clearly shows how broad our interests are, and how deep the Czechoslovak effort is to achieve a world of peace, coexistence, and cooperation.

In an Active, Enterprising, Responsible Manner

The year 1984 began with a complicated international situations. Despite this we are not pessimistic, and we believe that our optimism is realistic. It proceeds from the consistency and firmness of the peace policy pursued by the countries of the socialist community, and from the peoples' political resolve to prevent an outbreak of war. We trust that it is possible to achieve a favorable turn in international relations.

We are prepared to assess positively all the proposals that, while respecting the principle of equality and equal security, would contribute to easing international tension, to practical steps for limiting and cutting down nuclear weapons, and to general disarmament.

In gradually implementing the 16th party congress conclusions, we have achieved certain good results. On behalf of the government I sincerely thank all those who have been honestly striving to fulfill the set tasks and to multiply our common riches.

We realize, however, that what was enough for yesterday, is in the vigorous current of life, far too little for tomorrow. That is also the basis from which the demanding tasks of this year proceed. Their accomplishment ultimately depends on an active approach, on good work, on the initiative and responsibility of all those who organize and direct work, and on all those who are finalizing these tasks in their specific working places.

In conclusion, I want to express thanks on behalf of the CSSR Government to all the Federal Assembly deputies for their effective assistance and for the support which they have given our work in the past period.

I firmly believe that we will continue this good and fruitful collaboration, and that in the future, as well, we will be successful in developing, by joint effort, all the positive aspects and tendencies of socialist development in our beautiful fatherland, the CSSR.

NINTH ZSL CONGRESS OPENS 26 MARCH IN WARSAW

Press Preview

LD260822 Warsaw PAP in English 0710 GMT 26 Mar 84

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw 26 March -- In connection with the 9th Congress of the United Peasant Party [UPP] to start here today, the party daily TRYBUNA LUDU pointed out that the congress is taking place at a peculiar moment when profound changes have been occurring in the style of exercising power in Poland and in the procedure of taking up political, social and economic decisions. The paper recalled great historical merits of the peasant movement for the country and the countryside and said that this movement "brought peasants to the current of social issues, propagated the national awareness and contributed to the fact that peasants had become a huge force in the struggle for Poland's independence and her just social shape. In all alliance and a joint struggle along with the working class and its party, the countryside has won what had been a dream of generations of fighters for liberating peasants into citizens, that is an access to power, land and knowledge," the daily said. "Socialism as a political system in which the aims of the peasant movement are most fully implemented, the PUWP leading role in the state and implementing the socialist principles of political system, and an alliance between parties and between classes -- such contents are contained in the UPP programmatic documents prepared to be passed by the 9th congress," TRYBUNA LUDU pointed out.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote on the same subject: "The situation of the Polish countryside is not easy today and agriculture as a branch of the national economy faces a great number of problems which must be solved in the interest of not only the countryside itself but also of the whole nation. Hence, the peasant movement which reflects political interests and aspirations of peasants and of some part of population connected with socialized agriculture must bear the burden of both historical and temporary-political co-responsibility for the progress of the Polish countryside and agriculture. Amid such circumstances the significance of the 9th congress of the United Peasant Party which begins its fourth-day debates in Warsaw today is really tremendous."

The Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI added: "Owing to the qualitatively new arrangements -- with the principles of allied partnership contained in the Polish Constitution -- the UPP actively is systematically intensifying and cooperation with the PUWP tightening. Participants in the peasant movement, faithful to the 90-year-tradition of an organized political peasant movement -- integrate their ranks to better serve the Polish countryside, agriculture and nation."

Malinowski Address

LD262241 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0804 GMT 26 Mar 84

[Address by Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Committee, at opening of Ninth ZSL Congress on 26 March in Warsaw -- live]

[Excerpts] Colleagues, delegates, honored guests of the congress: I would ask all to rise. I would ask that the standard of the ZSL Supreme Committee is carried in. [fanfare of trumpets, singing of national anthem and party song]

Fellow delegates, dear and honored guests: We are beginning the Ninth ZSL Congress. As the supreme authority, according to the will of 480,000 members, we are to make an assessment of the work we have accomplished since the last, the eighth, congress. It was one of the most difficult in our country's post-war history. It was a great testing time for all of us: a test of our political maturity, sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation and the state, of allied credibility. We have gone through those tests, hardening the will for action in the fire of political struggles, gaining new experience. General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, conveyed warm greetings to our congress from the tribune of the National PZPR Conference of Delegates, and said: We have gone through the most difficult peiord together, to which the principles of our allied cooperation, the content of the worker-peasant alliance, were tested and hardened as in fire. Today we can say that as a result of firm and essential measures, the fever consuming our society has died down. This can be seen on the market, at the factory, and in the countryside. We are emerging from those days and months richer in new experiences, more sensitive to everything that does not serve the good of the nation and the homeland.

Colleagues, our friends have come to our deliberations. Dear and honored guests, permit me, on your and my behalf, to warmly and sincerely greet the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the members of the PZPR leadership, who have come to our deliberations. [applause]

I want, from this congress tribune, to warmly thank you for the words that you addressed to the congress from the tribune of the National PZPR Conference of Delegates. We see in them an expression of the new quality of the fraternal relations linking the PZPR and the ZSL, linking our party in a community of goals and activities, the strengthening and development of the worker-peasant alliance, the strengthening and development of our socialist state. [applause]

Your personal involvement is well known in our ranks and in the rural community, in the shaping of allied, partnerly relations between our parties to promote the development of the countryside and agriculture. You have earned particular recognition and respect among the rural population, in the peasant movement, both personally for your stance. This recognition and respect has been expressed in our report-back and election campaign. [applause]

I warmly and sincerely welcome the chairman of the Council of State, Professor Henryk Jablonski, eminent and meritous aktivist of the workers movement, and the members of the Council of State present at our deliberations. [applause]

I warmly welcome the leadership of the SD with their chairman, colleague Stanislaw Kowalczyk. [applause] The ZSL and the SD, participating in the coalition system governing our country, have been creatively cooperating for many years in the development of socialist Poland. We will continue to act to further common goals, in the implementation of common tasks.

I warmly welcome the members of the Sejm Presidium and the deputies present at our deliberations.

I warmly welcome the leadership of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] with its chairman, citizen Jan Dobraczynski. [applause] We will act jointly with the PRON to further broaden the front of political forces involved in strengthening the state, in developing the socialist renewal.

I warmly welcome my colleagues, deputy premiers, and the members of the Council of Ministers present at our deliberations.

I welcome the representatives of the associations of Catholics and lay Christians. I welcome the representatives of youth and social organizations, the representatives of science and the creative milieus. I warmly welcome the Warsaw administrators, in whose city our congress is meeting. I welcome the leadership of the supreme cooperative council and all levels of the cooperative movement. I welcome the representatives of socioeconomic organizations and institutions operating in the countryside.

Your participation, comrades, colleagues, and friends, in our deliberations, the deliberations of the ninth congress, is seen by us as an expression of recognition for the activity of our peasant party, as an expression of recognition and proper assessment of the contribution that the Polish countryside has made and will make to the development of People's Poland.

On behalf of the ninth congress, I warmly greet all members of the ZSL. On behalf of the congress and members of our party, I greet the whole of the Polish countryside, rural women, rural youth, and all food producers. [applause]

I greet the working class, which is creating better and better conditions for the modernization and development of agriculture. I greet the intelligentsia, which has devoted its knowledge and abilities to the cause of the countryside and agriculture.

Colleagues! [applause] Nineteen foreign delegations are attending the ninth congress of our party, representing peasant and allied parties and peasant organizations and unions from Europe and outside our continent as well. On behalf of all of us, I welcome the delegations of friendly parties and organizations. [greets Bulgarian, GDR, Soviet, Finnish, Czechoslovak, Algerian, Austrian, Cuban, Greek, Hungarian, Indian, Iraqi, Mongolian, Arab, Palestinian, Romanian, Syrian, and Tunisian delegations and ambassadors]

I declare the Ninth ZSL Congress open! [applause] I now ask the delegate from Rzeszow Voivodship, farmer Michael Markowicz, to take over the chair of the deliberations.

[Markowicz] I ask chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, colleague Roman Malinowski, to read the political-programmatic paper.

[Malinowski resumes] Mr Chairman, collegue delegates, dear and esteemed guests, we are holding our congress during a time that is not easy for us Poles. We face many complex and difficult socioeconomic problems, whose solution demands time, understanding, and continued joint effort, social activity, and honest work. However, what was most dangerous for Poland, and most dramatic for Poles, is behind us. We have saved independent and socialist Poland. We have created conditions for the consolidation of the state, for the development of calm and social order, which are the first indispensable requirements for overcoming the crisis, and realizing broad democratic reforms on the road of socialist renewal. We have made real achievements in this difficult task. We have entered a straight road, but it is not an easy one. As a congress we constitute the supreme authority of our ZSL, we are delegates elected by secret, democratic elections by nearly half a million of our members. [Words indistinct] Our debates are being followed by all peasants. The working class and the entire community are also interested. Our political allies, the fraternal PZPR and the SD, with whom in coalition we exercise power in People's Poland, attach great importance to the congress debates. Peasant parties and organizations from other countries follow our congress with interest. The recently concluded national conference of PZPR delegates, our congress, and elections for peoples councils, are the three important events of this year from the point of view of the process of deepening normalization and stability and socialist renewal.

We come to the congress with great political, ideological and organizational achievements. This is illustrated by the report delivered to delegates. We come to the congress united around our programmatic and ideological line. Consolidation was achieved in a sharp political struggle; the adversary tried to sow confusion, create divisions, weaken the alliance between peasants, workers, peasant activists, and communists, to push the ZSL into a wilderness of antisocialist opposition.

In those difficult years we kept faith with the principles of the peasant movement, we kept faith with peasant class, and the workers-peasant alliance. We demonstrated ourselves as an honest ally of the PZPR. In those decisive moments for our state we have clearly defined on which side of the barricade we stand in the ideological and political struggle. We regard with respect and appreciation the contribution made by the Polish People's Army and the internal services toward the defense of the constitutional and legal order in our country.

We will discuss and decide at our congress important issues for the future of the countryside and the country. We are to adopt an ideological declaration, the program and statute of the party and other important resolutions. We will elect the supreme authorities of the ZSL which require people who, thanks to their ideological and intellectual and moral qualities, courage, and diligence, will be best able to shape the policy of the party on behalf of the peasants, the nation and People's Poland, people for whom the main cause will be to serve rural areas, the party, and socialist state, and not to look back to various deals and arrangements.

Our congress is being held on the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. It was in People's Poland that the basic slogans of the peasant movement were fulfilled: land, power, and education for the people. Great qualitative economic, social, and civic transformations took place. This is best illustrated by the example of peasant and workers families, by transformations in rural areas and towns, and in the socioeconomic landscape of our country. This achievement must not be overshadowed by the problems and complexities of our development to date, or by those facing us at present.

The ninth congress is being held on the 35th anniversary of the date when the peasant movement united. The ZSL was formed in November 1949, at the unity congress. By overcoming divisions in the peasant movement and referring to progressive, plebian radical traditions of the peasant movement, the ZSL stood on the principles of socialist building, the workers-peasant alliance, recognition of the leading role of the party of the working class, and consolidation of fraternal bonds of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community. We have remained faithful to these principles. The consolidation of principles in the activity of the party will strengthen our position and importance in the political system of our state.

Our congress is debating before the 90th anniversary of the organized peasant movement, which we will celebrate next year. We are going back to our roots and traditions and to all those values that serve the process of socialist transformations well.

On the 90th anniversary of the peasant movement, we want to erect a monument to Wincentry Witos next to the Sejm building. Recently, we named one of the Sejm halls after Maciej Rataj, and we unveiled a bust of this speaker of the Sejm who worked at his post for so many years during the second republic. We also intend to open the first exhibition in the recently set up museum of the peasant movement. This museum should serve well the cause of cultivating the traditions of the peasant movement and culture, values that are dear to all society. I think we again became aware of this truth during the concert yesterday, which was so beautiful.

Colleagues, together with our political allies, we carried out an in-depth analysis of the causes of the crisis. We analyzed the causes of the latest crisis and we also analyzed the causes of crises that have occured thus far.

We did this in order to be able to draw from this all the necessary conclusions for today and tomorrow. Numerous objective and subjective causes, external and internal causes are to be found at the source of the crises. We are drawing all the necessary conclusions from them. To be aware of these issues is extraordinarily important, not just from the viewpoint of our country's emergence from the crisis and of strengthening the stabilization and normalization processes, but also with the purpose of preventing unfavorable phenomena in the future.

I wish to name the most important of these causes: First, the growing contradiction between the development of productive forces and the mechanisms and methods of national economic management. This had an adverse effect on the effectiveness of socioeconomic development. In the 1950's, we underwent the first phase of industrialization which changed our country and ensured the progress of our society. In the 1970's, the second phase of industrialization began. Almost 2 million new jobs for young people were created. However, numerous economic errors were committed. As a result of the arbitrary economic policy, the country turned out to be in greater debt than it could shoulder.

Contradictions between the requirements of managing a modern economic potential and obsolete methods and mechanisms of national economic management became more and more tangible. The economic reform, among other things, serves to remove these contradictions. It is also bringing about positive results in agriculture and the food industry. We modify the reform's mechanisms on the basis of our experience on introducing it. The full benefits of the economic reform will be more and more tangible, as economic equilibrium is gradually restored. All-round initiatives within the framework of economic policy are bearing fruit. After a few years, during which material production and national income had been decreasing, an increase was obtained last year. We also note positive trends in the first months of the current year. Management efficiency is gradually getting better. The ever wider cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries facilitates the process of emergence from the crisis.

Undoubtedly, the economic restrictions applied by the Reagan administration and by certain Western states under its pressure have a negative influence. They also deal a blow to agriculture and the food industry and are painfully felt by the whole society. The major losses incurred by the economy and society, due to this, cannot, after all, be made good by way of various gifts, aid projects, foundations which, from this viewpoint, are not of any great significance. At times attempts are made to make use of them as a kind of moral justification for the immoral restrictions that fly in the face of accepted international norms.

In the second place, socialist democracy became weaker. On the one hand, it led to a decrease in the citizens' share of responsibility for, and activeness in the social and economic life. On the other hand, it led to economic arbitrariness, arrogance of the authorities, and growing discord between the authorities and society. Hence we attach such great weight to the process of renewal to strengthening the socialist democracy. The practice of partner-like, ally-like ties between the parties, the principle of collective exercise of power, recently confirmed in the Constitution, reflect this, among other things.

The practice of relations based on instruction-issuing and satellite-like obedience, that existed during various periods in the past, was detrimental not just to the ZSL, but also to the party; it harmed the socialist construction in Poland. The growing role of the Sejm and its growing activeness serve well the development of democracy and its principles. This is facilitated by the Sejm acts on employees trade unions, on farmers' social and professional organizations, on workers' self-management, the law on cooperatives, the act on the system of people's councils and local self-management, and the system of public consultations which is ever more extensive.

The developing PRON serves the same cause. The ZSL was among the founders of this movement and many of our peasant activists carry out selfless work within that movement. PRON's membership includes people with differing views, people who nevertheless support the socialist state and constitutional order. All this creates conditions for strengthening social activeness, for all citizens to participate in the development of the country and to share responsibility for it. This facilitates the process of the state becoming stronger and of the development of social relations.

In the third place, there came about a loosening of the tie between rights and duties. Thanks to socialism, a major social progress came about. As a result of this, a fairly universal conviction gained ground that it is a duty of the socialist state to ensure that the needs and aspirations of each citizen are fulfilled. However, the need for a solid attitude to work, for an honest discharge of all one's duties as a citizen, the realization that the former does depend upon the latter, failed to take universal root. Frequently, those who are the most vocal advocates of rights, neglect their duties at the same time, showing an absence of respect for work.

The socioeconomic and political reforms being carried out in our country, have as their aim a unity between rights and duties, a unity between work and the benefits that it brings. Socialist justice does not depend upon an equal distribution; it depends upon distribution in accordance with one's own, in accordance with the extent to which one discharges one's duties as a citizen for the common good. [applause]

There can be no healthy society in which rights exist without duties or duties without rights. A harmonious social development requires unity between rights and duties, and the duty of solid and honest work is among the most important duties.

In the fourth place, the failure to appreciate the importance of agriculture in the country's socioeconomic development became one of the causes of the crisis. Industry failed to satisfy sufficiently the needs of agriculture. A number of errors were made, as far as agriculture is concerned. The agrarian policy was not stable to any great extent, it was notable for the discrepancy between principles that were proclaimed and practiced. We have drawn all the necessary conclusions from this fact.

In what is a relatively brief period of time, all the basic decisions were taken, effecting agriculture and the food industry, beginning with the joint guidelines of the Politburo and Presidium in January 1981 and ending with the PZPR Central Committee-ZSL Supreme Committee 11th Plenum and with the program for the development of agriculture and the food industry until 1990, adopted by the Sejm last year.

These create stable, lasting and long-term and equal conditions for the development of all the sectors of our agriculture. At times, this policy encounters criticism, conducted from positions that led the country to the crisis. That is why, in the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium, during appraisal of the annual implementation of the resolutions of the joint 11th plenum, we again emphasized with all resolve the fact that the principles adopted remained topical and the fact that everyone, everywhere, had a duty to implement these resolutions consistently.

The first results of our agrarian policy are positive. This is proven, among other things, by the food market which, all its troubles notwithstanding, is relatively the most stable one, by improvements in the area of means of production. There came about a social and production revitalization of the countryside, an improvement in the management efficiency of all the sectors of agriculture. Links between the sectors also developed.

We see that many of those who had departed from agriculture are now returning to it. Young people are becoming more and more interested in working in agriculture. There are clear trends toward an improvement in the territorial structure of peasant farms.

Finally, the process of socialist renewal in the 1980-1981 period was used by the forces of antisocialist opposition which was linked with Western centers in the struggle for power, to change the political system in our country and undermine our alliances.

The opponent used, for the purposes of this struggle, actions that had as their aim the collapse of the state and the economy and this painfully aggravated the crisis and its social consequences already so painfully felt by society. This was fraught with incalculable consequences -- and not just for our nation alone, but also for the political order that took shape following World War II. Necessary decisions were made turning back the dangerous course of events.

A stable and strong socialist Poland is not just necessary for the Poles. It is needed by Europe and the world. [applause] We know [this] and will consistently follow the road of socialist renewal, despite the noise sometimes made by various kinds of skirmishers [harcownik] on the sidelines of this road. The line of accord, struggle, and democratic reforms, within the framework of socialist renewal, is the only alternative for our development. It promotes the vital interests of the nation and socialist state. Everyone who feels a responsibility for the successful future of Poland has a duty to implement this line: It is the duty of every peasant aktivist, every Pole. [applause] This line derives from the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary congress of the party, from the resolutions of the eight congress and the seventh plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee. Today it marks out the direction of our joint political and socioeconomic activity, and of our joint responsibility for its realization. In common with all the political forces assembled in PRON, we are fortifying the citizens' sense of patriotic responsibility for our country's present and future.

Colleagues, esteemed guests! Thanks to the principles of partnership that have been adopted, and thanks to the wielding of power in coalition, we are making an independent and creative contribution to the development of Poland, and especially to the agricultural policy jointly enforced with the PZPR. The joint creation of this policy brings with it the obligation to increase joint responsibility for its implementation by every ZSL member and organization. That policy creates lasting, stable, long-term conditions and principles, with equality of rights, for the development of all sectors of our agriculture. This was expressed, among other things, in the confirmation of the constitutional permanency of the peasant family farm. [applause]

As we stated at the 11th joint plenum, we do not divide agriculture into sectors. However, we do distinguish between good farms and bad, between those that modernize themselves and raise the level of cultivation, increase production, strengthen the bonds with the socialist market, and those that do not do this. The countryside is differentiated. We take this into account in our specific solutions and government decisions, which serve to reduce this differentiation. This is linked to a large degree with the reduction of the differences in farming and between levels of agricultural knowledge. Recent decisions placing the activity of the state farming services under the (?social) supervision of the farmers' socioprofessional organizations ought to favor this and increase the effectiveness of farming advice. We favor and will favor an improvement in the structure of peasant farms, bringing the structure of production in line with the size of the farm, development toward work-intensive, high-yield production in the smaller farms, with prominent aid from the food industry and the branch unions and farmers associations.

(?Improvement) of production service will be of great significance in stepping up production in farms: The development of diverse forms of neighborly aid, peasants' teams, partnerships, associations, and of cooperation between sectors. We will support the farmers' voluntary initiatives to organize various forms of cooperative association of an agricultural, agricultural-industrial, and also agricultural-crafts nature. In certain voivodships we have fair-sized areas of uncultivated land, which can only be cultivated through the creation of new state farms. This calls for large outlay, however, The natural conditions of production are not uniform in character. In accordance with the government timetable for the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th plenum, drafts have been prepared of government decisions on mountain and upland areas. Work is underway on solutions to improve the conditions of cultivation under other particularly different conditions, including light soils. The reorientation of industry toward agriculture furthers social-productive progress in the countryside and in agriculture, namely (?reorientation of the) development of industry in the means of production and of the food industry. The first effects of this can be seen.

We will consolidate this reorientation. This is promoted by extempore solutions such as the operational programs and lists of government orders, along with the long-term increase in expenditure on the food economy, which is linked to the improvement of the system solutions within the economic reform. According to the resolution of the 11th plenum, the proportion of general outlay going to the food economy is to amount to at least 30 percent in the coming year.

The tempo of supplies of the means of production is outstripping, and will outstrip the rate of industrial development. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy, acting in concert with the other ministries, is developing plans to accelerate land reclamation and supply water to the countryside. Action and resources will be concentrated in the drought regions, even temporarily at the cost of other regions of Poland. There is a great shortage of water in these areas. This is a current fundamental issue for agriculture. The resolution of our problems in agriculture and the food industry should be well served by cooperation and interchange with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the agro-industrial complex. The talks we have held and the arrangements we have made with our Eastern neighbor create an opportunity for a three-fold increase of mutual trade in this sphere up to the year 1990 the development of cooperation and specialization.

Economic conditions and consistent application of the adopted principles of profitability must be increasingly effective servants of intensified agricultural production. In line with this principle, the increase in prices of the means of production, and the attendant increase in the cost of production, should be offset by appropriate amendments to the purchase price, maintaining the income parity with other groups of the population. Since 1981 there has been parity at least between the incomes of the agricultural and the nonagricultural population. This issue will be the subject of further assessment and discussion at the end of the first 6 months of the present year, as in previous years.

Public opinion is highly sensitive to increases in the purchase price, but this does not apply to increases in the price of the means of production. However, after all, these are linked. That is why, in line with the principles that follow from the resolutions of the 11th plenum, discussion of prices will take place between the socioprofessional organizations of farmers, the consumers' federation, and the employees' trade unions and the associations of producers of the means of production. This should help create correct relations between prices, promoting increased food production, if correct price relations and profitability also depend on how costs shape up within agriculture itself: on the level of soil and animal productivity, on the nature of the farming culture, and labor productivity.

This is not just a matter for the farmers alone. It is also one for their socio-professional organizations. An animated social and production movement among farmers has to be created around these subjects. Action to improve social and welfare conditions represents an important plane in shaping the face of the modern countryside. Despite the crisis, the period between the congresses has yielded fruit in this sphere in the form of a new system of social insurance for farmers and their families, the fundamental solutions of which are aimed at creating equality between social benefits to the urban and rural populations.

Social and cultural changes, educational and cultural advancement and health care exert a momentous influence on the shaping of a modern countryside and agriculture. There is a natural link between the extent and quality of these transformations and the effectiveness and results of cultivation -- and keeping young people in the village. That is why one of the fundamental theses of our program documents for the ninth congress talks of the need to reduce the cultural imbalance between the town and the countryside, to create attractive conditions for the life and work of the rural community. In line with the resolutions of the joint plenum, a comprehensive program has been worked out for the improvement of social conditions in the countryside. This program was recently adopted by the government. It will constitute one of the important premises in the construction of the socioeconomic plans for the coming years. Meanwhile, its implementation will also largely depend on the commitment of all peasant activists, all the inhabitants of the countryside.

Colleagues, [word indistinct] in the countryside. Agriculture depends, apart from the necessary activities for agriculture and the food industry, upon the extent to which the countryside organizes itself, its socioproductive activeness in agriculture. The powers given to the farmers' self-management associations, the rural housewives clubs, to branch unions and rural cooperatives, guarantee the solution of basic problems with which farmers have to contend and which give rise to annoyance on the part of rural inhabitants. Self-management activists are frequently unaware of their own powers or are unable to avail themselves of them. Likewise, the administration does not always let self-management make its own decisions.

The bad habits, not quite fully overcome, from the time when self-management was a mere facade, can also be observed. As a result, many problems fail to be dealt with, there are delays, and these problems are, by habit, passed on for the so-called higher echelons to worry about. The farmer frequently continues to be defenseless in the face of bureaucracy, bad service in institutions and offices, and has to contend with problems arising from underdeveloped or malfunctioning services. Negative phenomena must be resolutely rooted out. I have in mind the phenomena that accompany the activities of self-management, such as cliques, using self-management as a cover for mismanagement, speculation, or bribery. If self-management wants to be a spokesman for the interests of the countryside, it must organize farmers to increase agricultural production; improve its efficiency; develop mechanization services especially to serve small- and medium-sized farms; raise agricultural culture; and develop cultural and educational activities and voluntary social work days.

Agricultural and cooperative self-management must take an active part in controlling the way in which institutions serving the countryside and agriculture function. We count on the fact that the forthcoming elections to people's councils, the national congresses of farmers' unions, cooperatives and organizations, branch unions and federations, and cooperative organizations will work out directions for the rebirth of authentic socioproductive activities in the countryside on the basis of acts that have been passed. There are many of us peasant activists in self-management organizations. Let us make the activization of self-management the foremost task for our circles and organizations. Let us make use, for all of us, of the powers and duties of self-management in the countryside, the powers for which we have campaigned for years on end.

Dear colleagues, on 12 June we shall elect new people's councils on the primary and voivodship levels. They will function on the basis of the new act on the system of people's councils and local self-management. People's councils will gain a far-reaching independence in supervising the whole socioeconomic development, selecting and appraising cadres, and managing the resources earmarked for social needs. The councils will combine the function of state authorities and local self-management.

The wider powers of the councils make greater demands of the candidate councillors. They must overcome the old ways in which the councils functioned and satisfy the aspirations of the local communities, they must prove that they will live up to the expectations of the voters. That is why the mandates of councillors ought to go to people who are courageous and sensible, who combine their own expertise with a will to act, who do selfless work for society, people from various jobs, members of political parties and those who do not belong to any party, all those who are united in their will to act for the good of all, for a better tomorrow for all of us.

Elections to people's councils will constitute an important act in the process of implementation of democratic reforms and of consolidation of society. All those who really want a genuine renewal in the way in which local authorities function, all those who want various irritating things and deformation to disappear from our life, all those who want better services for citizens and a better satisfaction of pressing needs should take an active part in the elections campaign. It is our duty as peasant activists, and we will go to vote in our coalition alliance.

Colleagues, participating in power and in the formation of state policy, we undertake at the same time, to share responsibility with our political partners for the implementation of this policy. The greater our participation in the exercise of authority and in planning state policy, the greater our responsibility.

More and more important sectors of state, economic, sociopolitical, self-management, cultural, and educational work are entrusted to peasant activists. However, in order for the peasant activists responsible for various areas of social life, from the parish elder to minister, to discharge their duties properly, they must feel a strong support from and inspiration on the part of their own ZSL organizations, the whole of our party.

The ZSL's authority and position depend, above all else, on the activeness and achievements of its members, parish circles, and voivodship committees, individual communities. Strengthening of party discipline is an important element of the party's functioning, as is the strengthening of internal consolidation at all levels of our activities, beginning from our circles and ending with the supreme authorities. The ZSL organization must form an ideological and organizational unity, a political force within the community; be a worthy and proper partner of the PZPR organizations; and inspire social initiatives; influence the inhabitants of the village where it works and the social, cooperative, and self-management organizations active there. The sense of joint governing of the country and shared responsibility for the affairs of all of us is reflected in this.

Young people play an ever greater role in the ZSL activities and this should continue to be the case. It is heartening to see that many of the new members are young people.

Looking to the future, a critical attitude toward reality and impatience are natural traits of youth. Young people in any movement give it energy of action. It should be a matter of honor for every older peasant activist to involve young people in the peasant movement. [applause]

Such is the old peasant tradition; such are current needs. The combination of the peasant movement traditions and experience of older people with the enthusiasm of the young people is what our movement needs. Let young people build the future countryside and the future Poland -- together with the prewar and postwar members of the Wici organization [prewar organization of young people], former soldiers of peasant battalions, those who built People's Poland. In our party, we attach special importance to the affairs of young people. It is important, from the viewpoint of our future and the future of the young generation. The issue of youth organizations is approached by us in the wide context of the problems of the young generation. We are for equal treatment of socialist youth unions and equal support in their activities. Peasant, rural youth can be found in these organizations. We can not divide them into better and worse, closer and more remote. It is our duty to have a partner-like cooperation with all youth organizations: the Union of Rural Youth, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Polish Scout Union, and the Polish Student Organization. It is the young people themselves who should decide in which organization they wish to be active. We wish to help young people, unite them for joint action and not divide them. It is in our interests that young people from all these organizations join the ZSL.

Individual and cooperative peasants have played the main role and will continue to play the main role in the ZSL as the peasants' party. They account for more than 70 percent of the members of our party. Rural and agricultural progress depends, to a large extent, on their political, social, and vocational activeness. We hold in great esteem those farmers who, in the never-ending drudgery of the work of their entire family, attain excellent production results, who, by their wise efforts, create a modern agricultural base for their farms.

There are also those who manage badly, poorly. Effects of their work are insignificant and, frequently, so are their incomes. It is the task of the ZSL, of our circles and members who are good farmers to give aid to such farmers, to influence their attitudes, to educate them in vocational activeness, for their benefit and the benefit of the whole country. Peasant activist farmers should be encouraged to develop various forms of neighborly help, to increase the dissemination of agricultural knowledge. Efforts must be made to develop and strengthen neighborly ties in local communities, so that various forms of cooperation come into being, so that self-management is active, so that initiatives that serve progress can develop.

The parish milieu, and hence its system of political, administrative, and self-managing authorities, the whole parish community, is the site of people's work and private and social lives. Within this milieu -- as opposed to urban milieus -- one can see very well how people live, how they work, how they treat others, what they consider good, and what bad. Public opinion is a great force in the countryside, one we have underestimated. Within those milieus our rural circles and our members have an enormously important role as organizers of social and professional life, as motivating forces in the implementation of economic and social tasks, a role as educatiors of broad masses of the population in the spirit of the ideals enshrined in our ideological declaration. This mobilization of public opinion should be the most important form of political work by the ZSL -- mobilizing public opinion against social pathology, bribe-taking, log-rolling, against the slyboots and the indolent, against alcohol abuse, making light of citizens' rights, against disturbances of public laws and order, abuse of power, injustice, shoddy work in any area, brutality and lack of culture in relations with other people, against all the negative phenomena in social life in the parish milieu. One should cultivate respect for work, justice, courage, for noble human deeds, for selflessness, willingness to sacrifice, and a sense of dignity. The good and evil in parish reality permeates both social milieus and the organizational structures of the parishes. The peasants should feel themselves to be a great force, capable of managing their environment with justice, as farmers do [po gospodarsku], of taking hold of peasant matters with peasant hands. [applause]

They themselves should devise just ways of resolving difficult issues. They themselves should seek the ways of improving the conditions and results of work in the farm, the forms of self-managing (?activity) to serve every family, village and parish, that will lead to harmonious relations among the people within them, that will gradually bring people to the conviction that the voice of the peasant counts everywhere, that the peasants are a force to be reckoned with, that they are an ally of the working class of significance. This is an area of great importance for our ZSL political service vis-a-vis the peasants and the whole nation.

How great is the contribution made to this by the rural women, who are able to act with the greatest selflessness and to the greatest effect against evil, and best pave the way to the good! Think of the labor, toil, selflessness they display on the farm, in the social life of the countryside, in the activity of our party, in the education of children, in inculcating into them those values that represent their most precious capital for a whole life. One is extremely glad that the part played by women in the ZSL is increasing. We will do whatever possible to ease their lives, the upbringing of their children, to improve their working conditions.

The peasant intelligentsia has always played an important role in the peasants' movement since its very beginning. No class movement can develop without the creative ideas and expert knowledge of the intelligentsia. Within our party there is a desire to see more and more representatives of the intelligentsia from the humanities alongside the technical agricultural intelligentsia. The social aktiv plays a decisive role in strengthening the social nature of the party's activity, in the observance of intraparty democracy. The ZSL's aktivists, from the lowest rung right up to the central level, are the (?spokesmen) of the interests of the peasants and the rural community.

We conducted an accountability-election campaign in a difficult and complex period, starting with the circles and winding up with the voivodship congresses and the elections of delegates to the congress. This was a period of stern verification of activists, of tough selection of the social and full-time cadres. It has yielded tremendous benefits for the ZSL, although it did not prove possible to avoid many unjust assessments. There were also cases in which valuable and committed activists were eliminated in the elections, and also cases of demagoguery and unjustified condemnation of certain activists. With these experiences in mind, we must grasp a weighty truth: a peasants' party should have at its disposal wide circles of activists, numerous ranks of activists. It is incumbent on them to represent the class interest in the elected organs of power, from the Sejm to the rural self-management.

Although there are activists who, on the ZSL recommendation, hold now and will hold in future various executive posts in the state administration at all levels, we suffer from a deficiency of these cadres. The business of our branches and echelons is a conscientious taking into account of social and regular ZSL cadres, to make them account as regards the discharge of their duties vis-a-vis peasants and the ZSL, but also to inspire them to action, to make demands, and help. In our activity the supreme target is the upbringing of a man who is actively participating in public life and who subordinates his conscious actions to the most vital values; the state, the nation, socialism.

The civic task of every ZSL member is thus the struggle for the consolidation of the sovereignty of the state, for the restoration of national harmony and unity, for the promotion of the ideals of socialism, and for putting them into effect. Every ZSL member everyday has opportunities and possibilities, in a manner appropriate for his vocation and his place in our national community, to discharge these civic and party duties.

The sum total of the work and activities of each of us creates and consolidates the position of our party as a class representative of the peasant part of the Polish nation. We want to influence the consciousness and attitudes of the ZSL members, so as to mold such a type of a peasant activist as would answer the current demands of the political, social, and economic situation of our country and as would be aware of the contemporary role of the peasant class in the state, of the ZSL position in the People's Poland political system, in the coalition exercise of power.

This calls for a broadly conceived political and economic education of our members and activists.

Colleagues, we are allies and partners of the PZPR, the leading political force and of the SD. Our cooperation rests on the principles contained in the declaration on cooperation between the PZPR and ZSL adopted in December 1980. This is a creative cooperation which does not avoid deliberations on controversial problems, a loyal one. Our today's partnership cooperation with the PZPR was taking shape during the difficult period of the defense of socialism in Poland.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski was present at our seventh Supreme Committee plenum, and said: The alliance between the PZPR and ZSL has recently passed a severe test. And again they have fully proved themselves and hardened further. Together we have been confronting the mortal danger to the socialist states, to its economy, to its historical achievements. Together we have been, and still are, advocates of the socialist renewal. Jointly together with the SD, with all patriotic, prosocialist walks of life of the nonparty people, we have been fighting for national accord. We have created its foundations and we will continue to do so. The roads tested in such situations and circumstances will never part. [applause]

The transformations of the PZPR and the ZSL have created political foundations for a partnership-coalition, allied cooperation between the parties and all forces supporting the precepts of the constitution. The coalition system of exercising power widens its social base and is conducive to democracy in decisionmaking. It enriches the building of socialism. The coalition system calls for political responsibility of all partners at all levels of power.

New qualitative political undertakings, decisionmaking ways, cannot be decreed. They must take shape in the process of political and social activities, in the everyday practice of our joint action.

Colleagues, today we submit to the congress the draft ideological declaration, program, and statute. We are doing so for the first time in the history of the ZSL. Thus, this is of tremendous importance for the work of our party. It is eloquent in the consolidation of its ideological identity, organizational sovereignty and programmatic independence.

We have submitted the drafts of these documents to our members for a broad debate. Its basic contents have been approved, and the joint programmatic-political line in the ZSL has gained support. This proves the consolidation of our organizational might and harmony. This is an important attainment in our party. The debate has also confirmed that draft documents express the aspirations of ZSL members, so that the party, powerful through its programmatic ideas, consolidated, disciplined, viable, and effective in action, should occupy a worthy place in the political system of our country. The wealth of reflections emerging from the debate has been exploited by the congress commission which has enriched and narrowed down the original drafts. However, there have also been submitted motions which we could not consider, as they would have destabilized the ideological foundations of the ZSL and destroyed the values and principles worked out by the 90 years of the peasant movement and the experience of 35 years of the ZSL.

On the other hand voices could be heard which failed to notice the changes occurring in the countryside; the powerful peasant striving towards authentic political representation, with his own program and his own identity.

We rejected both extreme trends. However, we cannot fail to notice them nor can we treat them with disdain. Among others, individual opinions were voiced undermining the party's leading role, suggesting that the ZSL ought to be the sole representative of the countryside. There were also those who suggested that the name ZSL ought to be changed to the Polish People's Party [Polska Partia Ludowa] or Polisy People's Faction [Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe]. Certain definite political messages were to be found behind these. In the first instance, it was an attempt to depart from the peasant social base which is and will remain the kernel of our party. [applause]. In the second case, there were links with the opposition, antisocialist trends, represented by Mikolajczyk's Polish People's Faction, a road to nowhere, a road leading to wilderness. There have also been attempts to impose an agrarian ideology. As we have already stated, agrarianism had certain positive aspects and these continue to be topical today. However, this movement also had a regressive political message, rejected by history, not just by our country.

Opinions were voiced advocating a diverse approach to youth organizations. I have already stated that we proceed from a position of treating youth organizations and young people in the same way and of developing partner-like and equal relations with all youth organizations. This is in the interests of the young people themselves and accords also with the position taken by the youth organizations. Opinions were voiced breaching the constitutional principles of the church-state division. After all, this very principle is to be found in all modern states. In accordance with our principles, we oppose attempts to clericalize public life; we are against intolerance.

Speaches by certain priests violate these principles. Likewise, these principles are violated by the introduction of political messages to the program of pastoral action among the farmers. Thus, this action has nothing in common with pastoral activities and, in essence, is an attempt to create sociopolitical structures, to appropriate for the Church the values and personalities of the people's movement, such as Wincenty Witos, at one time fiercely campaigned against by the representatives of the Church.

Being fully aware of the significance of the Church, we are for an expansion of the areas of cooperation in the name of the public good. This position of ours was reflected during my latest meeting with Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. After all, our views on certain issues did differ. In the joint communique, we emphasized the significance of joint action for moral rebirth and public order. We will proceed along this road.

Colleague delegates, the drafts of the three basic documents have to be seen as a whole; they overlap and complement each other. They contain the state of our ideological and political knowledge and set out forecasts of changes and of the direction of action and methods of action by our party. Recommending the draft declaration, I wish to emphasize that it is a kind of ideological constitution of ours. In it, we stated that the ZSL is a political party for the peasant class, uniting peasants, the intelligentsia, and all those who recognize the tenets of the ZSL program and statute.

In the declaration we state that one cannot build the socialist system in spite of the peasants or without their participation. It is our duty to oppose harmful trends aimed at downgrading the agriculture, at treating peasants and the achievements of the people's movement with disdain, at treating the ZSL as a force that is not an independent one and at curtailing the self-management forms of social activity. [applause]

Tracing our genealogical tree, we emphasize that the basic principles of the ZSL ideology arise from class and national experience of numerous generations of peasant activists; that they matured during the struggle for People's Poland against the forces of reaction and backwardness, for the full implementation of the system of social justice.

Along this road, the peasant movement has reached agreement with the worker movement and the SZL has expressed its support for the worker-peasant alliance and has become an ally of the working class party, leading the reconstruction of a new social system. We have been striving toward this through the century-old tradition of the worker movement and 90-year-old tradition of the peasant movement, as a result of joint experience and common struggles for People's Poland.

The fundamental backbone of the program is the complex of issues related to the peasant class and the entire food economy. We have considered that one of the major issues was ensuring the peasant class, as the component of the socialist society, of conditions for overall development. We have expressed the conviction that social development ought to be subordinated to economic development. Out of this emerge demands for the streamlining of the mechanism of the state authorities, the consolidation of the internal and external prestige of the state. We consider that to be of utmost importance in our activities is the observance of the principle of equal rights for the peasant class. These principles result in tasks for the social policy conducive to the resolving of the most burning social problems of the country -- health care, development of education and culture, and the perfection of various social systems.

In the area of economic problems, the draft program defines the ZSL stance on the major targets of the economic policy, improvement of the management efficiency, liquidation of the existing disproportions, trends in the rebuilding of the structure, better exploitation of the home raw materials base, orientation of industry towards a better satisfaction of production requirement of agriculture and the good industry, needs of the home market and export, increased participation of various forms of small-scale production and services industry, and improvement of the spatial distribution of production resources.

The draft statute defines the principles according to which we are organized and what norms are guiding our internal party life. It confirms the class character of the ZSL and lists our interests in the entity of the socioeconomic life. It underscores the unity between the work and duties of members. It contains solutions deepening the interparty democracy. However, the deepening of the interparty democracy is tied to the consolidation of democratic centralism, thus ensuring the effectiveness of the political parties' activities.

Colleagues, dear guests, during the period since the eighth congress, the international situation has sharply deteriorated. The departure from the policy of detente continues as well as the increase of confrontational elements in international relations. This is due to the extremely conservative U.S. Administration and the NATO military quarters which endeavor to impose on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries a gigantic armaments race, striving for the achievement of military superiority, hoping to influence through diktat and blackmail the course of events in the countries of the socialist community, in harmony with the NATO interests.

These schemes of the imperialist forces are being promoted under the slogan of updating the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, which have allegedly become obsolete. One would have to be blind not to notice the dangers to the fundamental interests of Poland, which the realization of these plans would bring about. This would aim above all against Polish national interests, security, or frontiers. The deployment of new U.S. nuclear first-strike rockets in Western Europe indicates the transfer of the armaments race to a qualitatively, entirely new level, threatening the loss of control over it by man.

This arms madness is accompanied by appeals for a historical coming to grips with Communism, for an anticommunist crusade. All these arms and propaganda strategy are aimed minly at the socialist countries. However, the actions undertaken by imperialism threaten the whole world. The present situation has many traits of the international situation at the end of the thirties, with the danger of all the tragic consequences.

In the context of the maintenance of the East-West dialogue, some hope is evoked by the continuing Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Poland, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries attach immense importance to these matters. Our country has submitted its own proposals on this question.

Let me also recall that the socialist states, the members of the Warsaw Treaty, advanced in the area of means of security an important proposal not to use military force in international relations, while the Soviet Union put forward its initiative not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, if the U.S. would only declare a similar willingness. The proposals recently announced by the Warsaw Treaty states on beginning talks on the subject of preventing increases in and reducing military expenditure, and on allocating the resources saved to the needs of social and economic development, are of great significance. Our country, Poland, is particularly entitled to warn against the danger of a new war. We are all too well acquainted with the horrors of war, the senselessness of destruction, the tragedies of hundreds of millions, of billions of people. Thus, we have a special right to call for peace, to stress the benefits of the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence and cooperation. This is all the more relevant since our country, and our internal affairs, are being exploited and viewed as a pretext for the intensification of international tension, for the waging of a policy of confrontation and military challenge to the whole community of the socialist countries. At the same time, this is a policy of punishing Poland for the fact that events in our country have not unfolded as presupposed in Washington and at NATO headquarters, for the fact that we took on the tidying up of our house ourselves, in line with our own aspirations and needs. Thus Poland is the object of restrictions, pressure, subjected to economic discrimination and propaganda subversion. Meanwhile, notice is taken of the legally defined international undertakings, of the violation of the decisions and principles of the Final Act of the CSCE in Helsinki, of the final document of Madrid, which speaks of cooperation with equal rights, and of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states. In the face of the threats posed to humanity by the current international situation, the voice and the activity of every political force, every community, every human grouping, counts. Our party also wishes to make its peaceful contribution, as it has done before.

Using the opportunity of our congress and of the presence of many delegations representing peasant parties and organizations, the day after the congress ends we will hold an international meeting of the peasant parties and organizations. We propose that the main subject be the issues of feeding people and peaceful cooperation between states. I think that at a time when the links of international cooperation are snapping, when the gap between the rich and the poor is deepening, when the shortage of food is an objective problem, the need for peaceful cooperation in this respect is the most human of needs. We place this problem in the broader context of constructing means of understanding, confidence, cooperation, to promote economic and food security.

Colleagues, we must be mindful of the future in order to make it a better one. As activists of this party, we have the opportunity to express our concern for the future, our contribution to the solving of the homeland's problems, in social and political activity, in daily toil and honest performance of our duties. This is what the countryside, the whole of society, expects of us.

May our wise and universal actions increase the achievements of the countryside, raise the level of its contribution to the general national work of rebirth, overcoming the economic crisis, assuring sufficient food for our society. These actions will consolidate the significance of agriculture and of agricultural labor, and will develop the Polish countryside. We have new opportunities for action. The sphere of the party's joint decisionmaking is expanding. Consequently, the duty and joint responsibility of every peasant activist, every one of our organizations, must increase. There is much to do ahead of us. Not everything can be achieved at once. Let us be concerned to see that the party concentrates on the most urgent problems and needs of rural reality.

Among the most important issues in the parish, village, voivodship, the country, agricultural policy is common. Common is the responsibility for its implementation. We must be powerful by the unity of strivings and aims, by the unity and organizational cohesion as the peasant political party, the ally and partner of the PZPR, in the joint surmounting of difficulties, representation of the peasants' class interests and putting into effect of their political, social, and economic aspirations.

Let us consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, the most durable guarantee of the realization of our programmatic targets. Let us strengthen the cooperation between the parties. Let us jointly resolve the problems related to the village, parish and the country. Let us bear in mind that the sole road leading the country out of the crisis is the work of all of us in town and country, at every post.

Let us consolidate the awareness that the fundamental patriotic command today is the unity of work and duties. Let us fortify the process of socialist renewal. Let us fill with concrete content the work of the people's councils and self-management. The time has come for a consistent implementation of the decisions concerning agriculture at all levels, in all units. Let us show concern for this. The future of the countryside depends on the young. Let us help them. Let the countryside become a live sociocultural organism, a self-government and production organism. Our forces, our hearts, our peasant wisdom, honesty, and will to act let us dedicate ourselves to the development of the countryside the enrichment of the life of its inhabitants and the building of the common home of our fatherland, People's Poland. Aware of our rights and duties, as well as responsibility before the future and the nation, let us line up together for diligent work creating assets needed by the present and future generations, said Wincenty Witos, the vice president of the National Council for the Homeland in a manifesto to the brothers and peasants.

Let us remain loyal to this message, because the country is in need and there is still a great deal in front of us. Let the course of the congress and the decisions adopted serve well the countryside, the ZSL, our socialist homeland. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Jaruzelski Address

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[Address by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, at the Ninth ZSL Congress -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and dear friends: I sincerely thank you for the invitation to me to participate in the proceedings of your congress. I thank you for your kind words and for the reception accorded to us, the representatives of the PZPR. In the first place, however, I wish, on behalf of the Central Committee and authorized by the recent National Conference of PZPR Delegates, to convey to you and to all the members of the fraternal ZSL, our sincere greetings. [applause]

These greetings are not simply something that it would be customary to convey on an occasion such as this; nor are they a mere fulfillment of protocol: Our party views the Ninth ZSL Congress as an important event in the country's life and will follow its proceedings with great attention and sympathy. There are indeed good grounds for this.

The past years -- and they were so very difficult -- tired, tested, and strengthened our friendship. In the continuing struggle, the cooperation between the PZPR and the ZSL gained a new and higher dimension: Its forms became richer and the authenticity of these forms was deepened. This is something that is most valuable: By deeds we have confirmed that the workers' movement and the peasant movement share the same history on Polish soil. The alliance between the PZPR and the ZSL has deep roots. It inherits the traditions of workers' and peasants' struggles for national and social liberation. It is the modern embodiment of the joint and monolithic front of the Polish left wing. After all, it was the radical trend in the peasant movement that was responsible for forming, together with others, the National People's Council and the Polish Committee for National Liberation. The July manifesto bore its imprint. This trend regarded the concept of people's power as its own; it endorsed the far-reaching social changes and the comradeship-in-arms and alliance with the Soviet Union.

Irrespective of the natural, specific, distinguishing features and differences, the supreme and joint concern has always had pride of place: to liberate the peasant from oppression and exploitation; to release him from his state of destitution, backwardness, and illiteracy; to satisfy his hunger for soil to till; to liquidate the degrading situation in which millions of unemployed people found themselves; to give the young generation in the countryside something to look forward to -- a just, People's Poland.

These tasks were revolutionary tasks. Nothing but a socialist revolution could implement these tasks with consistency. There exists a logical link, an ideological continuity between the historic slogan: Land for the peasants, the Agrarian Reform Decree, and the agrarian policy of the PZPR and the ZSL, of our socialist state. It is a live and lasting line of struggle for the rights of the working man; a line of class aliance between people who live by the toil of their own hands.

As the Constitution emphasizes, power in the Polish People's Republic is vested in the working people of the towns and countryside. The worker-peasant alliance became an instrument of thorough transformations leading to socialism. Workers and peasants' blood alike was spilled in defense of the new system, in the struggle for agrarian reform.

Here, in this hall, we have numerous and great aktivists of the peasant movement. Creatively and selflessly, they devoted their lives to the struggle for progress and socialism, for the destiny of our alliance. I now address to you words of profound esteem: Along the difficult paths, spanning 40 years, you have left your mark, a lasting one. We value it now. History will remember it and the future generations will not forget it! [applause]

Workers and peasants are, and will remain, natural allies. From the class viewpoint, these two forces are closest to, and have an absolutely essential need for, each other. They constitute an overwhelming majority of the nation; they define it. Changes over the past 40 years deepened and multiplied the links that bind workers and peasants, towns and the countryside.

Most of today's working class, a significant proportion of the intelligentsia, very many of those who are employed in the state apparatus, and also those who wear military and militia uniforms come from the countryside, from peasant families. More than a million people, a group that continues to be very large, continue to combine work in industry with work in the fields.

Hence, the people's power, socialism, brought about a class rapprochement, creating a kind of class melting pot and regarding the identity of workers and peasants' aspirations as something more important than the differences in their position in society, putting their joint path in socialism in the first place.

The worker-peasant alliance does not exist by itself. As always in history, it is a case of conscious choice, of struggle. We had occasion to become convinced of this yet again during the period when the existence of the nation was exposed to an acute threat, when its socialist statehood was exposed to an acute threat.

False friends of the people, ironically referred to during the first years after the war as peasants from Marzalkowska, strove to break up the ZSL, to push it onto a road to nowhere. They disdained no means to set the towns and the countryside against each other as well, to set workers and peasants against each other, to set the party and the ZSL against each other.

In towns, they appealed for strikes, for demonstrations of the hungry. In the countryside, they encouraged a boycott of supplies of foodstuffs for the towns; they wanted the breadless towns and coalless countryside to direct all their anger against the people's authorities, against the socialist state. This is a significant page indeed, torn from the diary of the counterrevolution.

Invariably we would be on the same side of the barricade. Jointly, with our own efforts, we defended the supreme national good: the sovereign and socialist state. We were simply defending Poland. [applause]

The enemy attack has been repulsed. His calculations were thwarted. This is due, to a great extent, to your party and to its supreme committee, to political responsibility and profound concern for the destiny of the country and socialism.

Comrades and colleagues, the ZSL was, is, and will be needed by the Polish countryside, by our nation, by the socialist fatherland. [applause]

Its merit and strength is the placing of the historic and progressive ideals of the peasant movement, of peasant radicalism, in the current of building a society of social justice. We value highly the allied partnership role played by the ZSL in the coalition system of exercising power. It has a genuine, constructive influence on the political, social, and economic life of the country. [applause]

This has found expression both in the resolutions of the ninth party congress and in the declaration "What Are We Fighting for, Where Are We Heading?" adopted by the national Conference of Delegates, as well as the materials for the long-term PZPR program. The Marxist-Leninist inspiration, the logic of the historical process, the leading role of the working class in the building of socialism have made the guiding and leading role of the party a system law, and a vital, irrefutable necessity. However, we do not regard this role as an artificial elevation, as a privilege. This is a service, a duty. This is the greatest responsibility.

Peasants and the intelligentsia also belong and are active in our party which is by name and above all by its class essence a workers party. The party is not building socialism alone, above or next to the many-millions-strong masses of urban working people. For this, strong and resilient, active and sincere allies are needed, allies who will draw motivation and satisfaction from participation in the process of exercising power and the commensurate responsibility. Today the ZSL and the SD possess the qualifications enabling them to fully express their identity and independence. Moreover, our cooperation has never before been characterized by the present degree of mutual respect and trust, such maturity and effectiveness.

Honesty, tact, and loyalty at all levels -- it is on this that the everyday content of this process depends, because nothing is born and nothing wins alone. All that is to serve the people depends on the people. The forms of our cooperation are being constantly enriched. Within the framework of the Central Commission for Cooperation between the PZPR and the political parties we are making the most meaningful decisions. We have behind us the first plenary session of the central echelons during a 40-year period and a number of joint sessions of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and of the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium.

All-round cooperation is unfolding at local levels. These new forms and impulses pave the way for deepening coresponsibility for the socialist state. This will be confirmed by the election to the people's councils. We will march toward this great campaign along one road. The new act appreciably widens the prerogatives of local bodies of the people's power and of local government. Availing oneself of these opportunities with the best advantage for the state and the local communities calls -- to put it succinctly -- for good programs and good councillors. This is our mutual concern. This is the duty of the PRON.

As signatories of its declaration, together with the SD and the associations of Christians and lay Catholics, we regard preelection cooperation, democratic selection of candidates, and ensuring that the elections place in a suitable atmosphere as a great joint duty. We expect the elections to attest to the support of the Polish countryside for the ideals that within a historically short time have deeply transformed its life and its fate. The elections will endorse the feeling of coresponsibility for the socialist state which has elevated to the status of binding law, the just strivings of many peasant generations.

We also attach great importance to the development of agricultural self-management. We see in it a desirable partner of the administration which takes its affairs in its own hands. We greatly depend here on support from the primary party organizations, the ZSL branches, and also the youth organizations in the countryside. They should stimulate initiatives and civic deeds. They should become the first champions of the struggle against exploitation, backwardness, passivity. The PZPR and ZSL echelons, the people's councils and the rural self-management and the sociovocational organizations must set up a joint front of battle against the evil that besets us and hurts the social sense of truth and justice.

Our foe consists of all kind of speculation, cliques, bribery, enrichment at the expense of others, and the soulless bureaucracy and favoritism, a character who sits behind a desk and thinks he is a magnate and demands that people tug their forlocks.

Time is needed for full shop shelves, for an abundant market, for the urban and rural consumer. However, a better, easier, and worthwhile life is already within the range of our possibilities.

Things are such that the social evil is not afraid of our resounding declarations and words uttered from official rostrums, of church bells or holy water, this evil must be pulled out with our own hands like weeds. When social and moral health is failing in the countryside, the ambulance arriving from outside is not enough. The ways and means must be found at home, above all we need people prepared not just to make noises at the evil, but to combat it with courage in every shape, everywhere it emerges.

You can count on the party in this struggle. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the importance of the congress is also determined by the economic situation of the country, the status of agriculture and the food situation. The struggle for bread, for food for our existence is a key issue. We know in Poland only too well what it means when bread is in short supply and how bitter is the taste of the borrowed loaf. We know how painful are the restrictions aimed at this sensitive point with all premeditation. What is more, we should not count on gift of bread. Nobody and nothing can take the place of our own labor. That is why we agreed at the joint 11th plenum that food self-sufficiency should be the national target and task.

The affluence of the Polish table must rest on our own resources, a more intensive exploitation of the soil and of the means of production. We have clearly defined agricultural policy. It ensures durability, stability, and equal treatment for all sectors, for all honest producers. It is concerned with the profitability of production and its adaptation to changing production costs.

We want progress, modernization, wider social and production ties with peasant family farms to become the ambition of the socialized sector, of the producer cooperatives and of the state farms. These are natural ties, necessary ties that help the people and the entire economy. However, most important is for all sectors to compete, in the awareness of joint responsibility, to produce more and cheaper, ensuring at the same time a higher degree of living standards and better working conditions.

The private farms, the cooperatives, the workforces of the state farms are responsible for the results of their work, the yields of every piece of cultivated land. They are accountable to the nation because the soil is its asset. A hectare means in Poland today more than ever before. During the post-war period, some 1.5 million hectares of arable land were lost. During the same time, some 14 million food consumers have been born in Poland. This is the stake in the battle for high production, for food self-sufficiency.

Good agriculture avails itself of every output opportunity. It steps up productivity and reduces the costs. Good agriculture means above all a thrifty and enlightened farmer. The decisive factor is still his diligence, up-to-date farming know-how, and its application is practice. Today this determines productivity and marketability. Such farmers have earned our profound respect. It is they who feed the nation with hard toil and ensure its food.

But there is also the phenomenon of glaring disproportions. In the same voivodship, in the same parish, and even in the same village next to model farms we have backward areas of inferior farming culture. This is not a private matter. We cannot agree to this.

This also determines the scale of existing reserves. In order to exploit them, we need above all a powerful wave of agricultural education, a kind of agricultural and animal breeding revolution. At the same time, this is an ambitious target and offers broad prospects for young farmers and employees of agriculture, for the young rural intelligentsia, for thousands of people employed in the agricultural sciences.

We are fully aware that agriculture cannot cope on its own with the responsibility for the feeding of the nation. It calls for multilateral cooperation and assistance and above all for a great effort of the working class, industry and science. The supply of the countryside and of agriculture with all its needs constitutes an exceptionally important aim of the ties linking the towns with the countryside. There is still a great deal to be done in this domain, but much has improved.

Appreciation should be expressed to these work forces in enterprises, which despite vast difficulties are discharging their duties to agriculture with ever-improving results. But it is necessary to go further, because there are still many needs that have not been satisfied. Many problems confront us. Prominent among these are an appreciable widening of the range of land improvement, a fundamental improvement of water supplies for the rural areas, as well as the modernization of the energy network.

Agriculture, the feeding of the nation constitute a contemporary priority. It is the common cause of the members of the PZPR, of the ZSL, and of the nonparty people, of all walks of life and all generations, to see that working the land becomes easier and its results ever greater, that the difference between town and country dimishes, that the countryside's access to education, culture and health care improves, that the deeply patriotic, diligent Polish countryside enters the modern world. These are our prospects, our target. [applause]

Dear friends, we value highly the contribution made by the ZSL activists and the member masses to the political, social, civilization, and cultural transformations of the Polish countryside, to the development of agriculture and the entire food economy. With this in mind allow me to express to the ZSL Supreme Committee and above all Chairman Roman Malinowski, wholehearted gratitude for the fruitful, allied cooperation, in the inter-party and government sphere [applause], for the selfless efforts for the benefit of the worker-peasant alliance and the good and prosperity of the country.

In those aspirations, we will always be together. Our alliance is indivisible! [applause]

The whole party wishes you good and creative deliberations, the fruits of which will assist the Polish countryside, our economy, the great cause of the socialist fatherland, the PPR. [applause]

JARUZELSKI CLOSES PZPR NATIONAL CONFERENCE

AU261110 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 3

[Closing speech given by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, at the National PZPR Delegates Conference in Warsaw on 18 March]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates: The National PZPR Delegates Conference is drawing to a close. It contained a high ideological temperature and a profound sense of party-responsibility. A very large number of comrades have made a direct contribution to the achievements of the conference. One ought to emphasize the socially representative nature of the speakers, the broad participation by workers and peasants, comrades from the front line of party service. The conference has encountered great interest throughout our party and society. There have been numerous expressions of this. All those who have treated our debate with attention and good will deserve recognition. Whatever the enemy might say, and however he might speculate, the universal interest in the conference confirmed that our party is an authentically leading and directing force.

Society understands that the country's future depends on the strengthening of our party, on its strength and vigor; that one cannot pass by the conference indifferently. It cannot be passed over in silence, because what happens in the party is of immense significance for the nation, for Poland. This is a great obligation for us.

The conference has been marked by richness of party thought. This material is too rich and fresh to be summarized on the spot. This would be against the spirit of democratic centralism and would mean hurriedly dealing with something that requires deep and careful analysis.

Therefore please regard my speech not as a summary, but as a final word which stresses only some of the problems.

Comrades, you have shared many of your experiences. We will publicize them and transfer them to a wider context. We regard it as the duty of the Central Committee, Politburo, and Secretariat to assess the huge amount of material and transform it into practical conclusions as quickly as possible, so that nothing is omitted from our collective common sense and so that the fruits of the conference are used to the maximum during the stage of struggle and work for the sake of strengthening socialism in Poland.

The talks and the resolutions which have been adopted form a hugh meritorious-ideological workload. It has to be transferred to all party cells, especially to primary party organizations. The talks have confirmed that these bodies are the closest to working people. That is why we want to concentrate our present efforts on the work of primary organizations and on our work with them.

Comrades, I think that we are all agreed in recognizing that the conference has been successful, but tomorrow will decide what tangible results it brings. This final assessment will be made by the tenth congress. Thus, this is the most important thing: intense work before us beginning tomorrow, with energy, with the most profound conviction that our road is correct and fruitful.

The conference was the continutation of the leading ideas of the ninth congress and at the same time a powerful and unambiguous confirmation of their correctness and aptness. We have taken on the responsibility for there never being, never being able to be, a return either to the pre-August distortions or to the pre-December anarchy, to the threats to socialism.

We have recognized the main condition for that to be socialist renewal, the line of accord, of struggle, of socialist reform. The guarantee of the implementation of that line can be the party alone, the same party but a different one. We are becoming such a party. We must not leave this road.

Comrades, 2 and 1/2 years separate us from the ninth congress, but when one measures the road we have come along according to other criteria, this is an entire historical era. As communists, however, we must see the progress we have made in its correct proportions. We should value this progress, but not overestimate it. That means we should retain a clear perception of many problems which have not been solved yet against the background of the struggle which is being waged.

Our talks have been accompanied by a feeling that a huge task is being performed and many positive changes made. However, there has also been an awareness present that there are negative sides to the life of the party and country. There has been no shortage of criticism. This is specially valuable. It is proof of the growth of the party's ideological and moral strength. We can say that the party has become better acquainted with reality. It is better aware of the difficult dilemmas and features of our times. The party is learning the dialectics of struggle and agreement expressed in the words of Lenin: "An open political struggle is forcing the party to consolidate its ties with the masses."

Criticism is the best form of defense against the danger of distortions and against the danger that Leninist norms might be forgotten. Many people fear this. It is best to dispel doubts by means of facts. Your criticism, comrade delegates, is such a fact.

It is important from what angles the assessments and criticisms of weaknesses and shortcomings are being made. As far as our conference is concerned, the matter is clear: from the angle of a deeply premedidated approval of the ninth congress line and of the methods of implementing this line as defined by subsequent Central Committee plenums.

No one can have any doubts. The party is consolidating itself around the ninth congress program and around the policy of socialist renewal.

What is the party's Marxist-Leninist essence based on: It is based on removing what is evil, reforming what is outdated, and protecting and perpetuating what has proved itself.

Socialist Renewal Is a Dialectic Process

The question is often asked: When will the renewal process be finally completed? Socialist renewal is not an on-off event and is not a temporary stage during a crisis. It is and should be a dialectic and never-ending process. What appears today as the limit of political possibility may prove insufficient tomorrow. What we today regard as a cause for pride on a national or voivodship scale may act as a brake or obstacle tomorrow. This is the approach professed by the declaration which the conference has adopted entitled "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Headed." The draft of this declaration brought new life to the party during a most difficult period. Now it will be a signpost for our daily work.

The party's leadership role must be manifested in an ability to think about the future. And we are confirming this ability. Figuratively speaking, we must keep a constant eye on our feet, for if we look ahead it is easier to trip up. But today, we can already afford to look ahead. Today we can and must exceed the horizon of immediate tasks and direct our thoughts at the future.

We expect that during talks on the materials forming the party program, this historic document will assume a full shape, that it will become a good school of creative Marxist-Leninist thinking, and that it will encourage initiatives which will be summed up by our party's tenth congress.

The conference has taken place in an atmosphere of party-like patriotic concern. The knowledge that socialist renewal has to be given new dynamics and new impulses gave birth to the conference. A desire that we give existing reality a more efficient shape also gave birth to the conference. This has been expressed in many ideas, concepts, assessments, and conclusions put forward during the conference. This is our great achievement, whose importance for present and future party activity cannot be overestimated. We will avail ourselves of these resources and transform them into practical activity.

Displaying Initiative Also Means Defending Our Interests

The conference has called for a strengthening of the initiative of the party, of its cells and aktivs, and of all primary organizations. Displaying initiative also means defending our interests in a principled way and taking active part in the struggle for ideas. This requires a higher standard of ideological work and also that our aktivs be better equipped with the very rich resources of lively Leninist thoughts and teachings. The new Polish edition of the "Complete Works" of Vladimir Lenin should serve this purpose.

The national conference has also shown the need to improve the implementation of decisions and resolutions. We cannot and will not come to terms with delays and neglect in implementation. We must rid ourselves of signs of formalism which delay party activity and also of petty regulations which hinder the independence and responsibility of primary organizations in solving problems posed by life.

Esteemed comrades, at our conference the same delegates, but delegates who are not, after all, the same, assessed the degree of the changes in the life and functioning of the party itself. Good is its own recommendation. Permit me then to dwell briefly on the shortcomings.

What Is Old Has No Future in the Party

The discussion correctly mentioned stepped up vigilance vis-a-vis the appearance of certain bad practices: bureaucratism, soullessness, and arrogance. It is bad that, despite such bitter lessons, such things continue to manifest themselves. However, it is good we are so sensitized to them, that we are tenacious in stigmatizing and combatting them. Outworn and compromised things have no future in our party and will not pass. In order for this to become the case, we must react with particular attention to those statements in which the comrade delegates pointed out the shrinking from principled and class activity that still occurs in certain of our organizations. Thus, to call a spade a spade: opportunism, acting in the sense of the proverb to have your cake and eat it too. We all live cosily here, for after all we all know each other, one may prove useful to another, we have common interests and connections, better bring in someone from outside to deal with it. Comrades, this is a serious matter. Our weaknesses and our neglect, our lapses and shortcomings, our manifestations of ideological slovenliness ought to be treated by us as an opponent. Often we become our own enemies. For there is a simple logic to the struggle: The opponent feeds on our mistakes. Our weaknesses become his strength. Our most effective way of combating the enemy is resolute forward movement, action to counter relapses into doling out orders and into having one's head turned by governing, a lack of party humility and of culture in relations with people, a slackening of the moral demands one makes of oneself and the party collective. In a word: resolution and consistency in the implementation of the line of the ninth congress. The Leninist style of work is the reverse of an easy task. In our party there are so many splendid people, selfless, modest ones with strong ideology. At times they are difficult, vexatious, bad tempered. However, if they orient themselves according to the good of our joint cause and act in line with the ideas of socialism and have the good of Poland as their aim, we ought to discerningly listen to their voice. The officiously polite, those who count on contacts and a career in the bad sense, are not needed in our party.

The most valuable people are those whose deeds match their words. People like this help implement in the best possible way the most important key task -- the full reestablishment of the party's ties with the masses and the workers class. This factor determines the success of the transformations that have been made and the possibility of implementing the congress program.

We Must Take Into Account the Knowledge and Aspirations of the Workers Class

The basic thing is to consider, in all our actions, the potential of knowledge, experience, and aspirations accumulated by the working class. An imperative arises from this: One's attitude towards the views and appraisals of the working people must be one of being perceptive; the working class' influence on target socioeconomic decisions and their implementation must be more active.

The leadership of a workers party requires that it should be precisely the party which wages the fullest and most consistent struggle so that the principles of socialist social justice materialize in day-to-day life, that the party should be a more eloquent spokesman for the interests of the workers than anyone else, that it should be the most eloquent spokesman for the workers' viewpoint.

The party is needed by the workers in all matters that concern the conditions in which they work and live, in and out of their work place. The party should put forward the initiative wherever any conflicts arise; it should come to the defense of correct arguments. The party has a duty to struggle against everything that makes workers indignant; against any and all iniquities; against encroachments upon the dignity of the workers; against wastage of public property, instances of profligacy and bad organization of work.

The party must not allow anyone to overtake it as far as the resolute campaign to combat evil is concerned. The doors of the party committees must stand ajar for every worker, each and every working man. The party aktivist must always find time to talk with people, even if 24 hours is not long enough.

District and primary party organizations are closest to human affairs. The ninth congress firmly stressed that that is where party programs materialize. Our conference has confirmed this as well. Despite the great progress that has been achieved, there are still great reserves in these organizations, especially in the smaller ones; and these organizations constitute almost half the total number of primary party bodies.

Comrades, ideology is an attitude based on a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, but it is above all a knowledge of the party's stance on all issues that are important to people. This requires systematic training and an improvement in the quality of training. This has been and still is a weak point in party activity. It must become our trump card.

The responsibility of journalists teams in the press, radio, and television is growing. We do not desire stagnation, moralizing, and a constant repetition of obvious truths. Experience shows that there is nothing better in propaganda than dialogue and discussion. In order for "our stance to be at the forefront," we must present the party stance in a more principled manner and more convincingly; we must be ready to polemicize with and combat what is confusing and even harmful.

In aiming to achieve firm respect for our statute, we must pay particular attention to the rules which comprise the principle of democratic centralism -- comradeship, collectiveness, freedom of discussion, and freedom of criticism -- but at the same time to universally-applicable ideological discipline and political and organizational unity.

As we know, there have been two very different streams of discussion in the past. One of them was always in the hall, the other in the corridors. I think our conference has put an end to this bad habit. There is one truth: Today we have a common signpost -- the strategy of the ninth congress. Even if there are understandable differences, differences in perceiving this or that problem, everything connected with the above strategy and with its supreme goals brings one closer together. Unity in different initiatives and proposals leading to the same goal, and unity in the feeling of responsibility are the essence of democratic centralism. It must be defended. We must not lose it. It is our party's achievement.

The party does not exist by itself and for itself. There is no more important matter than to rally round us the people who do not belong to the party; to create a natural, everyday, sincere and honest link with nonparty people in the process of solving problems we all share; to bear in mind that the main thing is not that they should follow in our footsteps, but that they should go with us, fully aware that they accept the line and intention of our activities as their own.

A fierce political struggle is going on. The party has many enemies. However, there are many more people who are unconvinced and simply in doubt. Declarations, words that are honest and clear, are esential as far as the processes of agreement are concerned. However, they will not always suffice on their own.

True facts are essential. Specific arguments are essential. We are creating the facts; we possess the arguments. To create more facts, to use the arguments better -- those are the great tasks of the ideological front. This concept is often applied to the mass media, to science. However, the ideological front is also our aktiv. It is the comrades active among people. It is all of us active members of the party.

The ideological front is the real struggle against evil, against everything which is a denial of socialism. It is a good thing, then, that our conference made such hard-hitting statements on everything which harms the cause of socialism, of its idea. This is proof that the party is constantly aware of its essentially revolutionary role, that it has a sense of responsibility for life in our country being of increasing dignity, purer, more just; for there being no place in it for wrongs done to people, for soullessness, for mean tricks annoying people, for immunity from punishment cliques, prosperity of parasites and wise guys.

Economic Reform Is Our Party Business

We are in an exceptional year. Before us lie numerous tasks and problems, especially economic ones. It is a good thing that you have devoted so much attention to economic matters, comrades, including to the economic reform. While you have criticized some of the reform's features and some of the weaknesses in its implementation, you have still given it your support and recognize it as the party's business; this deserves praise. The past 2 years have been a period of setting reform in motion, a period when "the reform picked up a few bruises." the present year is a year of modifications on the basis of the experience gained; it is a period of implementing reform within the framework of an economic growth trend. Therefore this may be a year of real opportunity, if we carry out these measures determinedly and consistently.

There is still a long list of matters in the economy which we have not succeeded in solving and which have not been successful, but the most important thing is that the list of successful matters is gradually getting longer. This is also confirmed by the results of the past months.

We must do all we can so that economic progress is felt, as tangibly as possible, by the public, by working people. Hence the weight that we attach to increasing production for the market. We are of the opinion that this year there can be -- and there should be -- more goods, especially industrial goods, that the current year ought to bring about a further drop in the rate of inflation, that it should bring about further economic progress.

We know perfectly well, all the difficulties and shortages notwithstanding, how enormous the reserves that still exist are. No matter how paradoxical it sounds, I will repeat that our weakness in various areas of the economy happens, at the same time, to be our strength, since it is a reserve of ours. Better results in the implementation of the program to save raw and other materials and people's strength, above all, better organization of work, better management in every respect, better action in every respect, more and more extensive opportunities to make use of technological progress, of that huge army of talented people employed on the front of science and industry, scientists, engineers, technicians -- all this is a great reserve of ours.

We must set this reserve in motion.

Management Is People -- the Economy Is People -- the Reform Is People

Therefore we have huge possibilities which are largely frozen. Freeing them in the face of all the obstacles and brakes would bring tangible progress in every respect. And this is what we must aim and fight for!

In order to achieve it, we must also tackle a fundamental matter more energetically -- improving work discipline and organization.

Management is people, the economy is people, the reform is people. Therefore much depends on people; on harmonious work by managements, trade unions, and self-management bodies. For the same reason, much depends on the party and on party organizations, to which we should impart stimuli and encourage positive processes and changes.

Enterprises must not only reach for economic stimuli, but moral ones as well. The importance of moral stimuli was neglected for many years, and yet proper relations between people, work that conforms to qualifications and human interests, the possibility of education, respect for one's superiors and colleagues, and a good work climate are some of the highest values of socialism.

The results of the agricultural policy which we have formulated and are implementing together with the ZSL also depend on people. We appreciate the huge role of agricultural work, its importance in keeping Poland fed, and the complexity of the problems you comrades have spoken about so frequently from this rostrum.

The ZSL Congress will meet in a few days time. Together we have gone through a most difficult period in which the principles of our allied cooperation and of the worker-peasant alliance have been honed and hardened, as if by fire. We convey to our brothers, the members of the ZSL, wishes for fruitful talks via our friend Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, who is present here.

Dialogue With Society Is One of the Basic Forms of Functioning of a Socialist State

Comrades, the Central Committee, party leadership, and government are acting in view of the public today and are giving comprehensive information about their activity. They announce their intentions and publicize their work timetables. They report on the implementation of their tasks. They contact work forces in factories. They share their troubles and problems with society.

A characteristic feature of this style of work is taking advantage of advice and expert analyses, but the purpose of this is not to give noble status to a practice which has not taken rational scientific assessments seriously in the past. In fact, these assessments are fully appreciated, and we regard them as one of the most important safeguards against a return of voluntarism and subjectivism.

We listen to what society says. We provide mass information about matters which the press criticizes, and we react in an appropriate way. Dialogue with society is one of the basic forms of functioning of a socialist state. In a situation where citizens' opinions and views are many and different, it is one of the main conditions for a proper exercise of authority. The decisions of the authorities cease to be arbitrary if dialogue in the form of consultations precedes them and is genuinely taken into account when these decisions are actually made. We will consistently use this method.

This year we intend to carry out consultations with the general public or with various communities within it regarding such issues as, among others: the long-term economic plans and programs, the criteria of admission to higher educational establishments to the final version of the bill on youth, the bills concerning the setting up of a workers and peasants inspection system and, finally, the tightening of and changes to certain regulations so as to make for a more efficient struggle for observance of the law and social discipline, for public law and order.

The work designed to improve the functioning of local party cells and administrative bodies corresponds to the above central activities.

Of course, we are a long way away from being satisfied. We are counting on the introduction of the "Principles of PZPR Cadre Policy" adopted at the 13th Central Committee plenum to bring further progress.

A system of cadre work in offices will shortly be examined and will be accompanied by the introduction of annual activities conducted at various levels, especially the regional level, which will determine promotion and work scope for specified administrative officials. One should also consider the introduction of similar practices to the party apparatus.

We remember, and let us not forget, that one feature causing the crisis has been the excessive growth of centralism, coupled with inadequate conditions for creative and independent activity. Convinced that the new possibilities will become a driving force, the party has initiated a series of reforms opening up extensive room for independence and initiatives. These reforms are generally passing their test. But they are not doing so always and everywhere. It is a fact that it has sometimes been much easier to refer to and demand independence than make use of it. Independence must be learned urgently. Boldness must be gathered in this respect.

Many issues which you have criticized, comrades, lie today within the scope of party bodies at the local or factory level. These include the frequently mentioned issue of workers and social discipline. Who is supposed to struggle for it? Those who possess far-reaching independence in solving factory affairs. This cannot be done at any other level.

The law of political and social life says: More rights mean more duties, and greater possibilities mean greater responsibility.

Socialist democracy will not come knocking on our door of its own accord. Its essence lies in participation, activity, and getting things done. The party inspires, creates conditions, and encourages; that is its programmatic duty. But people's authority must be the work of the broad mass of citizens and of the nation. It is at this point that the opponent attacks and calls for refusals and boycotts, saying: "Look, their reforms have failed." They will succeed, they must. This is a process. We have built the foundations for this process by means of many legislative acts. Now, practice will decide.

Elections to the People's Councils Are a Yardstick for Citizen Maturity

The elections to the people's councils are before us, and further ahead are the elections to the Sejm. They are a yardstick of citizens' maturity. They are an important step toward development and toward perfecting citizens' maturity. The new electoral rules are meant to serve the above purpose. Numerous proposals have been made on this issue. There are no perfect solutions valid once and for all. It is the trend that is important. It is expressed in the solutions that have been accepted and which determine the development nature of socialist democracy. This is not a question of tactics or a temporary fashion. It is one of the key features of the entire ninth congress program.

The elections are opening an important new stage and a great chance for local people, for people who are active, and also for young and nonparty people.

The democratic process of submitting candidates for councillors makes it possible for the ranks of councillors to include people who are truly the best. This opportunity has to be exploited in full. The act endows the new councils with new powers and considerably expanded opportunities for action. This should be reflected both in the contents of the preelectoral meetings, in realistically drawn-up programs, and in the preelectoral meetings, in realistically drawn-up programs, and in the selection and appointment of suitable candidates.

The elections will be a yardstick of the activity of numerous bodies responsible for the freedom of objective discussions. We are counting on all bodies in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth to make a particularly dedicated work contribution. The electoral campaign will be the first test of national importance of their role and credibility.

The campaign presents all party bodies and every one of its members with the duty to undertake widely-conceived sociopolitical activity. Our "Resolution on the Party's Tasks in the People's Council Elections" describes these tasks.

During the coming months we will approach society with the truth of the people's socialist 40th anniversary, with the whole truth, because the whole truth expresses the greatness and significance of this momentous historic event the best way. Despite the mistakes we have made, and setbacks we have experienced, this is a period of time without equal in our nation's history. It does not have to be artificially enhanced. We already have a real picture of the fatherland's advancement and that of the working masses, of people and families, of regions, of individual factories, and of places.

A 40th anniversary is also a great collection of human deeds which are often unknown and forgotten. Opening this book and making it accessible to society, especially to the young generations, is the great ideological-educational task waiting us.

This will be another battle with the class opponent. He is looking at the same calendar as we are, only upside down. Already today attempts to revive reactionary shades of the past, rehabilitate those responsible for national tragedies, and distort Polish history are in full swing. By the way, these attempts have a good feature for us. They will not permit us during the celebrations of this anniversary to limit ourselves to ceremonious pageants, circumstantial publications, or speeches. This must be a jubilee struggle for historical truth and for a better knowledge of all the complexity of and all the greatness of that period.

It will remind society, especially young people, of the great achievement as a result of which Poland found itself within new and just borders, in borders within which Poland is secure, thanks to the alliance with and friendship of the Soviet Union and thanks to the internationalist unity of the socialist community.

Social moods have vacillated in Polish history many times. After periods of enthusiasm, fervor, and creative energy, there have been periods of reluctance and even resignation. These have caused slumps in socioeconomic life, cultural creativity, science and technology.

That is why Poland's enemies have always helped break us up and have implanted pessimism and lack of faith in our own strength.

We need time in order to reach the desired stage, and costs are inevitable. It is up to us for this time to be the shortest and the costs the lowest possible.

Poland Is Once Again Becoming a Country Where One Can Live Certain of Tomorrow

The socioeconomic crisis in Poland is gradually subsiding. Even so, there are many obstacles and difficulties before us. Nevertheless, the party and the entire nation may permit themselves cautious but clear optimism for the first time in many years. Poland is once again becoming a country where one can live certain and hopeful of tomorrow.

The processes taking place in Poland right now can only be compared with those post-war processes when we were embarking along the revolutionary road to building a new system. They require a marshalling of all forces and a consolidation of all social and patriotic energy. However, victory will be ours. We will fight for this victory while steadfastly following the road mapped out in this hall during the historic days of the ninth congress. Under its party's leadership, the nation can achieve anything it wants to.

Comrades, we shall shortly adjourn. Tomorrow you will be with your relatives, families, and work and party colleagues. We bid each other farewell so that we may take our places at the posts assigned to us by the party.

Conviction and faith in our own strength provide us with the knowledge that party members have the right to march up to the workers class, peasants, intelligentsia, and all working people with our heads held high. We are proving with every day of our heavy toil that our only goal and supreme right is the good of the nation, the good of the fatherland.

Time is on our side, as if to ease the difficulty. History has passed sentence, and we are carrying it out. History accords socialism a historic victory. We will manage to overcome the difficulties if each of us does everything possible so that he can proceed to the 10th congress with a feeling that his duty has been honestly performed.

The Central Committee is leading us along this road. It has confirmed with its activity and deeds that it is consistently faithful to the cause of the party and of socialist renewal. The conference confirms this conviction.

Thank you, dear comrades, for your creative and dedicated participation in our talks.

I express my thanks to the invited guests.

I thank employees of the press, radio, and TV for informing society about our talks. Let me also convey through you my thanks to all the services that have helped guarantee the necessary conditions and organization for this conference.

I declare the National Conference of PZPR Delegates closed.

CHURCH-STATE COMMISSION COMPLETES TASK

LD262330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Mar 84

[Text] The joint commission of representatives of the Episcopate and the government has recognized that the working commission it set up for legislative matters has fulfilled its task. After familiarizing itself with its report, the commission discussed the course of further work on legal regulation of the attitude of the state to the Catholic Church in Poland.

The concordant willingness of the government and the Episcopate to shape these relations in the interest of the nation was affirmed.